



BEYOND BOSCH

The Afterlife of a Renaissance Master in Print

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Marisa Bass and Elizabeth Wyckoff

with an essay by Matthijs IJssink

and a contribution by Peter Fuhring

SAINT LOUIS ART MUSEUM

Beyond Bosch: The Afterlife of a Renaissance Master in Print

was published in conjunction with an exhibition presented at the Saint Louis Art Museum from April 17 to July 19, 2015, and at the Harvard University Art Museums from January 23 to May 8, 2016.

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COVER: Unknown etcher after Hieronymus Bosch, *The Tree-Man* (detail), n.d.
Etching. Private collection. See cat. 4

INSIDE FRONT AND INSIDE BACK COVERS: Joannes van Doetecum the Elder and Lucas van Doetecum in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *Temptation of Saint Christopher* (or *Temptation of Saint Anthony*) (detail), 1561. Etching and engraving. Private collection. See cat. 7

TITLE PAGE: Hendrick Hondius after the engraving of 1572 by Cornelis Cort,
The Painter Hieronymus Bosch, 1610. Engraving. Private collection. See cat. 1

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Director's Foreword

Hieronymus Bosch is among the most enigmatic of Renaissance artists. His paintings not only challenged the norms for religious images, but also set the stage for developments in secular painting more than a century later, in part through the flurry of engravings and etchings bearing his name that began to appear in the second half of the sixteenth century. The more than thirty prints in this exhibition each purport, in one way or another, to descend from the work of Bosch. It is a diverse and varied group of prints, some of which have only the most tenuous connection to Bosch himself; nevertheless, each reveals the enduring appeal of the artist's work and its influence into the early seventeenth century, a hundred or more years after the painter's death.

Bosch made no prints himself, but his contemporary Alart du Hameel, an architect and fellow native of 's-Hertogenbosch, made a handful of engravings that reveal a creative response to the painter. The turning point for Bosch's reception in print came in Antwerp in the 1550s, after Hieronymus Cock published the engraving *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*. The source for the engraving was a drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, but Cock credited Bosch, rather than Bruegel, as its inventor, thereby setting the stage for the Boschian publishing phenomenon examined in this exhibition. Although long considered a commercial move, a more complex process was clearly at work: a new generation of artists grappling with the legacy of Bosch was competing with their inventive forebear while simultaneously building a new vision that was very much their own.

Beyond Bosch: The Afterlife of a Renaissance Master in Print would not be possible without the vision and generosity of the private collectors who have, during the past few decades, assiduously and passionately assembled their nearly complete collection of the prints from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries relating to Hieronymus Bosch. The seeds of the exhibition were sown when the collectors and the co-curators acknowledged that not only had such an exhibition never been organized before but that it would edify both museum visitors and scholars alike.

We are much indebted to the British Museum in London as well as to a private collector, courtesy of Nicholas Stogdon, for their generous loans of the exceedingly rare prints by Bosch's contemporary Alart du Hameel, which have allowed us to illustrate an important part of the story that would have otherwise gone untold. That there is a story to tell at all is due to the creative passions of Julian I. Edison, whose eye for the bizarre and the beautiful knows no bounds.

Brent R. Benjamin
Director
Saint Louis Art Museum

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We are delighted that the exhibition will travel to the Harvard University Art Museums in 2016, and we gratefully acknowledge the support and participation of Thomas W. Lentz, Elizabeth and John Moors Cabot Director; Deborah Martin Kao, Chief Curator; and Danielle Carrabino, Cunningham Curatorial Research Associate.

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Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as “Inventor”

Marisa Bass

An engraving of monstrous figures contorting their bodies in and out of barrels, baskets, and boats; walking on stilts; performing handstands; and breaking wind makes a suspect claim about its purported creator (fig. 1).¹ An inscription in the lower left corner declares Hieronymus Bosch the “inventor” of the sheet, while the lines of text printed along the base of the engraving go even further, eliding the artist with the twisted subjects depicted:

These Hieronymus Bosch fools [*drollen*], prophesized ere long: behold, how each shows the meaning of his struggle. With the same excess, now each mocks the world’s strife as well, so that every barrel makes visible what it has inside it.²

The text refers to the inhabitants of the print as *drollen*, or foolish characters, a natural descriptor given their absurd antics and postures. At the same time, Bosch’s name modifies the word *drollen* like an adjective: not only is the print’s design attributed to Bosch, but its strange inhabitants are also branded as inherently “Boschian,” such that “Hieronymus Bosch the inventor” becomes visually synonymous with his inventions, the fools themselves. The doubling of Bosch’s name both as inventor and subject in the bottom corner of the sheet makes this point emphatic. The scatological joke in the last line of the text describing how every barrel makes visible, or literally “gives out” (*gheeft uit*), what it has inside it further suggests that this kind of circularity is fundamental to human existence. As numerous figures in the engraving demonstrate, if a monster sticks itself into one side of a barrel, something monstrous comes out on the other end. The sheet as a whole discloses a similar circularity in Bosch’s creative process: whatever emerges from the artist’s mind, however grotesque, cannot but embody the artist himself. The flatulence of these monsters becomes, by a strange perversion, emblematic of Bosch’s generative activity as creator.³

But what do this engraving and Hieronymus Bosch really have in common? As indicated by the inscription in the lower right corner, this work was produced by Volcxken Diericx, the widow of the great print publisher Hieronymus Cock, whose publishing house Aux Quatre Vents (At the Sign of the Four Winds) flourished in the thriving metropolis of Antwerp during the latter half of the sixteenth century.⁴ It must date sometime after 1570, as the label “Aux Quatre Vents” appears predominantly on prints Diericx published after her husband’s death in that year. A pendant sheet of cripples, fools, musicians, and beggars in similarly theatrical postures was also published by Diericx and ascribed to Bosch’s name (cat. 2). Yet the artist

Hieronymus Bosch was born around 1450 and died in August 1516; by the time this engraving was published, he had been dead for more than fifty years. The composition looks much like a drawn study sheet, as if its figures were a collection of Bosch's sketches and doodles now preserved and circulated via what was still a relatively new reproductive medium. While the engraving of cripples derives from an extant study sheet by one of Bosch's followers (cat. 2a), no such drawing of the *drollen*, either by Bosch or his circle, survives.

The *drollen* engraving belongs to a much larger group of prints that explicitly claim the early Netherlandish painter as their “inventor,” despite the fact that they were produced decades after his death and, at best, have only tenuous connection to his known works. There is no indication that Bosch himself ever designed for the print medium. These prints are not literal reproductions of extant paintings or designs by the artist; rather, they are images inspired—often quite loosely—by Bosch's creative legacy but which equally often conspired, through their compositions and accompanying inscriptions, to be taken as Bosch's own original work.



Fig. 1. In the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *Various Fantastic Figures (Hieronymus Bosch drollen)*, n.d. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

While their association with Bosch doubtless increased the popular demand for such prints at the time they were published, their derivative status has long been their scourge in modern art-historical scholarship. As such, they have never received due research attention. The most comprehensive catalogue of these prints after Bosch was compiled in the early twentieth century by Paul Lafond, a French artist and close friend of Edgar Degas who turned to a career as an art historian, serving as curator at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Pau and publishing on other early modern artists, including Rogier van der Weyden and El Greco.⁵ Yet Lafond approached his subject as a connoisseur rather than a historian, and although the prints his volume encompasses have since appeared in various exhibitions and scholarly studies, the larger questions raised by these works concerning the issues of authorship and the role of the print medium in shaping Bosch's afterlife have yet to be addressed in any depth.

The sixteenth-century prints ascribed to Bosch, no matter how distantly removed from the artist's own pen and paintbrush, trace their origins to a moment of dramatic shift in the notion of innovation itself. Beginning around 1500, the concept of an ingenious Renaissance

“inventor” was being redefined in Bosch’s northern European milieu through everything from new experiments with architectural form and an emergent awareness of classical antiquity to advances in university education and an increasingly rebellious stance towards the accepted forms and iconography of religious images. Innovation became a way to approach art-making with new rigor but also a means to playfully query past artistic tradition.

This is not to say that an interest in creativity and invention was suddenly new in the sixteenth century, as its currents can be traced back through the Middle Ages to antiquity.⁶ Nor is it to imply that the modern secular notion of artistic “genius” applies to Bosch’s context either.⁷ However, one trend does emerge in northern Europe during the early sixteenth century: artists themselves more consistently began to use the terminology of “invention” to describe and theorize their own works.⁸ In particular, the Latin term *ingenium*, which refers most simply to an innate quality or natural disposition, was increasingly employed to describe an individual’s talent, wit, and creativity.⁹ The term surfaces in the context of artists as well as many other kinds of inventors, from scholars to engineers.¹⁰ It also mingled with the Renaissance understanding of imagination as derived from the ancient writings of Aristotle, according to which the imagination was not just a concept but instead an actual ventricle of the brain, a physical storehouse of images gathered from one’s sensory experience of the world; artists could harness their imaginations towards creative visual endeavor, but in turn, imagination could also overpower their ability for rational command.¹¹ *Ingenium* was not always a positive qualification in Bosch’s sixteenth-century context either, and it could refer at times to a consciously subversive approach to invention.¹² Even in the English language, the verb “to invent” has long had a dual meaning: to create on the one hand and to falsify by making something up. A person possessing *ingenium* might exercise their innate faculty in the pursuit of innovation as well as deception, and we will see that both dialectic poles were at play in Bosch’s art and in the works inspired by and attributed to him.

Only by pursuing an understanding of invention as it was conceptualized in Bosch’s own lifetime and during the course of the succeeding decades when the prints after him were disseminated can we begin to understand the label “Hieronymus Bosch inventor” as more than a commercial strategy on the part of the sixteenth-century art market. The common usage of the Latin words *inventor* and *invenit*—as formulas for ascribing authorship of a print’s design—becomes slippery and destabilized when applied to Bosch, as the *drollen* engraving itself suggests.¹³ Past discussion of the prints produced under the artist’s name has tended to focus on subject matter, whether religious, hellish, or comical, as defining the limits of what constituted a “Boschian” production in the eyes of the original buying public. This essay instead argues that the vastly disparate body of prints inspired by Bosch and created by numerous different artists reflects—albeit paradoxically—Bosch’s legacy as the first northern European artist to assert his art as the product of his unique *ingenium*. As such, these works reveal a desire not only to profit on Bosch’s market appeal but also to situate his particular creative innovation within the history of Netherlandish art as a whole. All the participants in Bosch’s afterlife were, to varying degrees, in on the same clever jape.

Hieronymus Bosch and the Power of Ingenium

Hieronymus Bosch was born into a family of painters in the town of 's-Hertogenbosch, also known as Den Bosch, in the Netherlandish province of North Brabant.¹⁴ He trained as a cleric and probably attended Latin school before devoting himself to an artistic career. His family name was actually van Aken, but as noted in an archival document dating from his lifetime, he signed his works “Jheronimus Bosch,” the name by which he is known today.¹⁵ Renaissance artists across Europe—from Leonardo da Vinci to Albrecht Dürer—included their hometown in their signatures, and for Bosch as well, this practice was a means to assert pride in his place of origin. Bosch's identity was profoundly defined by his local context; he enjoyed an unusually elevated social stature as an artist in the city of his birth, in no small part through his marriage to Aleid van der Meervenne, who hailed from a wealthy and prominent 's-Hertogenbosch family. In the years 1486–87, Bosch was admitted to the lay Confraternity of Our Lady in his hometown, a brotherhood dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to the salvation of the souls of its deceased members, where he mingled with his fellow urban elite.¹⁶

Bosch's comfortable life in 's-Hertogenbosch might well seem at odds with the hellish works for which he is famous. The monumental triptych known today as *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (fig. 2) presents a sea of cavorting bodies in its central panel, the space traditionally reserved for the most important religious subject of a devotional painting or altarpiece.¹⁷ This landscape of “men and women, both black and white, engaged in various actions and poses, birds, and animals of every sort” so overwhelmed the Italian courtier Antonio de Beatis when he saw the painting in 1517 that he declared it “impossible to describe well.”¹⁸ Beatis did not even attempt to account for the eerie reptiles already invading the paradisiacal domain of Adam and Eve in the left panel, let alone record his thoughts on the infernal tortures depicted in the right wing.

The Garden of Earthly Delights, despite its strangeness, attests that Bosch's prominence during his lifetime extended from 's-Hertogenbosch to patronage by the highest Netherlandish

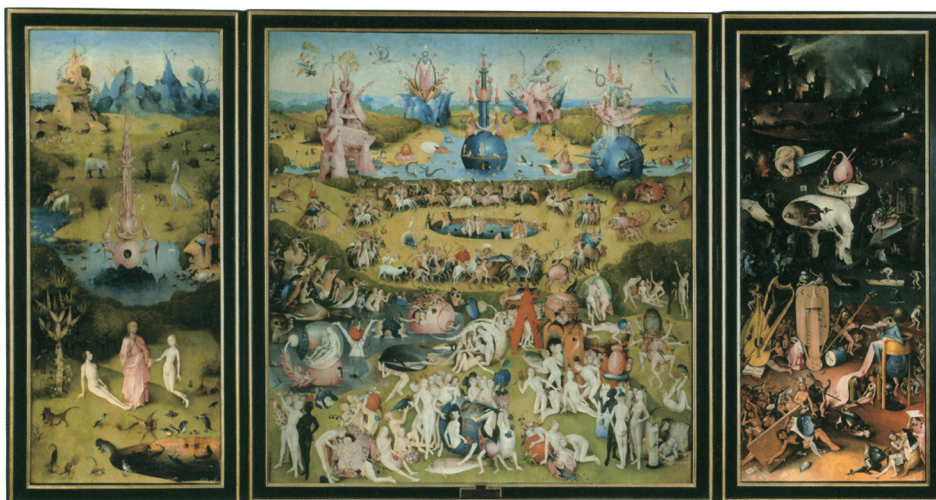


Fig. 2. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (interior view), c. 1500–05. Oil on panel. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

elite.¹⁹ Beatis only set eyes on the painting because it was hung prominently at the Brussels palace of the nobleman Henry of Nassau, whose uncle Engelbert of Nassau was most likely its commissioner.²⁰ In September 1504, the “painter Hieronymus van Aken, known as Bosch” received payment for another monumental painting from Philip the Fair, son of the Burgundian-Habsburg emperor Maximilian I, which is described as a representation of the Last Judgment; the payment document refers to a lost work even larger than the triptych of that subject preserved in Vienna today (fig. 3), which is ascribed to Bosch and his workshop.²¹

Several paintings under Bosch’s name are also documented in the collections of other prominent members of the nobility, though in the case of these inventory records, it is difficult to ascertain whether we are ultimately dealing with images by the artist himself or his assistants.²² The fact that Bosch ran a workshop with assistants who put out paintings under his name further evinces the great demand for his art from contemporary buyers. It also makes determining the exact boundaries of his oeuvre within his own lifetime and beyond more complicated. A workshop piece such as the Vienna *Last Judgment* differs significantly in its painterly sophistication and technique from an autograph panel such as *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. As recent scholarship has begun to consider, even paintings long accepted as “by Bosch” may instead have been part of the output of his workshop.²³ The same issues arise in assessing the body of drawings associated with the artist, a significant number of which also seem to have been created in his workshop or by later imitators.²⁴

While many Renaissance artists had workshops, few could rival Bosch in the volume of images bearing his name—yet created by so many different hands—both during his lifetime and long thereafter. During the course of the sixteenth century, Bosch’s renown only increased, as did the proliferation of works by admirers and imitators eager to capitalize on his successful brand. While Bosch’s workshop paintings surely remained closer to his own creative enterprise, those produced after his death in 1516 were at much greater remove from this point of origin. What was understood to constitute an invention by Bosch seems to have become defined more by its aura of originating in the artist’s conception than by its actual proximity to Bosch’s hand. This is especially true for the Boschian prints, a medium—it must be emphasized again—for



Fig. 3. Hieronymus Bosch, *Last Judgment* (interior view), c. 1504–08. Oil on panel. Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien

which Bosch never explicitly designed. Was the later sixteenth-century understanding of Bosch as “inventor” driven only by the market demand for works associated with his name, or did it begin somehow with Bosch himself?

Bosch’s autograph drawing *The Field Has Eyes, the Forest Has Ears* (fig. 4) speaks to these questions of invention and originality, if not to the very problem of delimiting Bosch’s creative production from that of his followers.²⁵ The drawing illustrates a Netherlandish proverb about the consequences of human action. What we say and do is witnessed and judged by those around us, as Bosch’s literal representation of eyes and ears in this landscape so provocatively suggests. The watchful owl at center contrasts pointedly with the garrulous magpies that fly around him in the tree above, oblivious to his knowing and silent gaze.²⁶

This drawing is one of a handful of autograph sheets by Bosch that contain sketches and doodles by his assistants on their verso, demonstrating the collaborative nature of his workshop’s output and suggesting that the work itself remained in his private possession, accessible only to a few.²⁷

Still more significantly, it represents Bosch’s innovative approach to drawing as a medium. Together with his *Tree-Man* sheet in Vienna (cat. 4a), *The Field Has Eyes* seems to be a drawing that the artist created as an independent invention, not as a preparatory study for a painting.²⁸ Bosch was one of the first Renaissance artists to treat drawing in this manner. *The Field Has Eyes* also embeds more personal connotations that would have resonated in the intimate context of the drawing’s creation and reception. The landscape setting may allude to Bosch’s hometown; the word *bosch* in Dutch means a small wood or forest.²⁹ The figure of the owl has even been taken as a disguised self-portrait embodying Bosch himself as a wise and wily creator, an association that may account for the many owls that appear in the later prints ascribed to his name. One might even consider the image as a figuration of Bosch within his own workshop, as the owl encircled by followers who may not always grasp the teachings of their perceptive master.

The drawing’s resonance with Bosch’s understanding of his own creative endeavor emerges still further through a remarkable inscription along its upper edge: “It is indeed the mark of a miserable talent [*ingenium*] to always use what has been invented and never feel compelled to invent himself.”³⁰ The line derives from *On the Discipline of Scholars*, an educational treatise extremely popular during Bosch’s lifetime, which was written in Paris in the early thirteenth century and falsely ascribed to the early medieval writer Boethius.³¹ Although there is no other exemplar of Bosch’s handwriting with which to compare the inscription, and its authenticity has sometimes been doubted, it fits both in terms of the artist’s contemporary pedagogical context and with the inventive nature of the image as an unprecedented visual realization of its proverbial subject. No Netherlandish artist prior to



Fig. 4. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Field Has Eyes, the Forest Has Ears*, n.d. Pen and brown ink. Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin KDZ 549

Bosch left any comparable textual comment about the creative process on one of their works, and as such, its inclusion here is as innovative as the drawing itself.

In the context of a Renaissance workshop such as Bosch's, the distinction between imitation and original creation was a logical one. Bosch's assistants would have trained by copying their master's inventions as a learning process, with the goal of eventually becoming inventors in their own right. A student who failed to launch from the nest, so to speak, might well be deemed a "miserable talent." In *The Field Has Eyes*, however, the contrast between the sentient owl and the magpies—birds known for their imitative chatter—takes on a more sinister cast, as does the question of just who these chatty birds may be said to represent. By depicting a realistic landscape endowed with otherworldly perception through its many ears and eyes, Bosch creates an almost ominous sense that the drawing, the powerful product of his creative mind, is watching us as viewers and judging whether we, like the magpies, are too mindless to invent ourselves. Surrounding every owl is a cluster of magpies. True *ingenium*, Bosch seems to suggest, is rare indeed.

Guevara, Sigüenza, and the Boundary Between Ingenium and Imagination

The Field Has Eyes and its accompanying inscription show Bosch thinking in an unprecedented way about his own *ingenium* and representing its powers as both generative and discerning. Bosch sees what others do not see, and in doing so, he is capable not only of producing unique creations but also of judging others who pursue the same endeavor. There is a duplicity here between Bosch as creator and observer: he produces a work to be seen by others, which then also looks back at them. The problem of Bosch as double also applies, in a larger sense, to recognizing the artist simultaneously as the singular creator of works such as *The Garden of Earthly Delights* and as conductor of a busy workshop, one neatly reflected in the double-sided *Field Has Eyes* drawing with Bosch's invention on the recto and the doodles by his followers on the verso.

Responding to this problem, some early writers sought to make firm distinctions between Bosch and the works that emerged from the machinations of his imitators. The first sixteenth-century commentator to expound on this phenomenon was the Spanish scholar Felipe de Guevara, who hailed from a Netherlandish family and possessed works by and after Bosch in his own collection.³² In his *Commentaries on Painting* (c. 1560), Guevara laments that many considered Bosch merely "the inventor of monsters and chimeras" because they knew his art only through his inferior followers.³³ Bosch's own inventive capacities were of a higher order, Guevara argues, because "he paid much attention to propriety and always most assiduously stayed within the limits of naturalness."³⁴ In following the model of nature in his hell paintings, Bosch had to "depict devils and imagine them in unusual compositions," but Guevara claims that he never did so gratuitously.³⁵

In the early seventeenth century, another Spanish commentator, Fra José de Sigüenza, also made a strong division between Bosch's "great ingenuity" (*ingenio*) and the absurdities that were painted by others and falsely associated with his name.³⁶ For Sigüenza, Bosch's fantastic



Fig. 5. Hieronymus Bosch, *Temptation of St. Anthony* (interior view), c. 1500. Oil on panel. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon

depictions of religious subjects, such as *Temptation of St. Anthony* (fig. 5), had a more profound meaning.³⁷ The artist's demons were created not as ends in themselves but "in order to prove that a soul that is supported by the grace of God and elevated by His hand to a like way of life cannot at all be dislodged or diverted from its goal even though, in the imagination and to the outer and inner eye, the devil depicts that which can excite laughter or vain delight or anger or other inordinate passions."³⁸ Sigüenza distinguishes between the fantasies of Bosch's *ingenium* and the demonic powers that can overtake the imaginations of both artist and viewer; he even refers to the devil himself as a kind of twisted and perturbing creator.³⁹ According to early modern theory, the imagination (*imaginatio* or *phantasia*)—a powerful organ that was not always in the control of the waking mind—could as easily produce wondrous creations as it could cross over into darker realms.⁴⁰ The great German Renaissance artist Albrecht Dürer, writing already in the early sixteenth century, expressed comment on this tension when he wrote that artists should be cautious of the boundary between nature and "dream works" (*traumwerck*), and actively choose whether to represent bodies as they appear in the world or hybrid fantasies of a different order.⁴¹ Dürer's reference to the suspicious powers of *traumwerck* contrasts with his employ of the term *ingenium* (and its German counterpart, *Gewalt*) as a positive means of describing his deliberate creative endeavors and his intellectual property.⁴²

Centuries prior to the foundation of psychoanalysis and its theorization of the unconscious as the seat of repressed urges and the fomenting force behind the act of dreaming, the early modern approach to dreams and the imagination was defined far more by a notion of vision.⁴³ Dreamlike imaginings were understood to visualize and prophesy events to come, or to make visible the mind's subjugation to external forces, whether divine or demonic. When Sigüenza describes how the devil depicts things that have the potential to rouse sinful passions, he is contrasting uncontrolled cognitive processes with the deliberate creations of Bosch's *ingenium*, which in Sigüenza's view pointed not towards hell but instead towards a higher spiritual path. To Sigüenza, the sensationalized imitations of Bosch's works confused

this boundary in that they failed to recognize what we today might call the “conscious” intentionality underlying Bosch’s visual excavation of the demonic underworld.

From this analysis by Bosch’s early commentators, we can surmise that a print such as the *drollen* engraving, created as part of Bosch’s posthumous reception, would have been met with disdain by both Guevara and Sigüenza because it perpetuates an image of Bosch as merely a creator of monsters for their own sake, devoid of higher intent, rather than as a means to reveal the truths of the divine and natural world. Yet in assessing Bosch’s afterlife through the lens of invention, it becomes clear that not all Bosch’s earlier commentators persisted in the sharp delineation that Guevara and Sigüenza wished to make; sometimes they conflated *ingenium* and the demonic imagination as one and the same.

The notion that Bosch’s mind touched the limits of the perceptible realm and transgressed into the domain of the spirits was no less integral to his later reputation.⁴⁴ Perhaps the most direct embodiment of this idea occurs in Hendrick Hondius’s 1610 portrait *The Painter Hieronymus Bosch* (cat. 1), which depicts a literal window into the artist’s psyche populated by a scene of hellfire and rowdy monsters. Bosch himself appears with furrowed brow and consternated expression, as if mentally tormented by these demons, a portrayal that builds on its original counterpart in Dominicus Lampsonius’s 1572 treatise *Effigies of Several Famous Painters of the Low Countries*—the first publication on the history of Netherlandish art.⁴⁵ Specifically, Hondius’s image responds to Lampsonius’s own poem that addresses Bosch in person and inquires about all the “ghostly specters” flitting about between his ears.⁴⁶ A painting by the Flemish artist Joos van Craesbeeck, *Temptation of St. Anthony* (c. 1650), one of the many creative reinterpretations after Bosch’s *St. Anthony* triptych, tropes the same notion of the Boschian imagination by showing a monstrously oversized head—perhaps that of van Craesbeeck himself—with demons in his mouth and with his forehead cut open to reveal a diminutive artist drawing furiously within the frontal ventricle (*imaginatio*) of his brain.⁴⁷

According to this posthumous characterization propagated by Lampsonius and Hondius, Bosch’s inventive capacities might thus be understood as embodied by the ingenious variety of monsters in the *drollen* engraving published by Hieronymus Cock’s widow. The word *drolerie* itself originally conveyed a sense of the demonic but had shifted meaning by the later sixteenth century to refer more broadly and benignly to all manner of comedic subjects.⁴⁸ A key representative of this shift was the great Antwerp artist Pieter Bruegel the Elder, who was known a “new Bosch” during his lifetime and whose art was also said by Lampsonius to have transformed Bosch’s “ingenious dreams” (*ingeniosa . . . somnia*) into laughter.⁴⁹ Lampsonius’s phrase directly sandwiches the concepts of ingenuity and dreaming together, implying both that Bosch’s original imaginings were demonically born and that Bruegel’s innovation was to endow those imaginings with comic valence. Bruegel’s later biographer Karel van Mander further described Bruegel’s inventions as “specters and burlesques” and nicknamed the artist himself “Pieter the Droll.”⁵⁰ During the latter half of the sixteenth century, the prints created after both Bosch and Bruegel alike were referred to as *drolerie*, even when their subjects were the Temptation of St. Anthony or the Deadly Sins.⁵¹

It has been argued recently that Bruegel's Boschian revival—specifically his morphing of hell-inspired inventions into a springboard for funny new creations—accounts for many of the Boschian prints published by Hieronymus Cock and others in the latter half of the sixteenth century.⁵² At the same time, the writings of Guevara and Sigüenza have been mined by modern scholars to explain the distance between Bosch and his later imitators. Guevara, Sigüenza, Lampsonius, and van Mander were all writing during a period, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, when Bosch's afterlife had exploded across media well beyond Bruegel's oeuvre. Their disparate interpretations of Bosch's inventive capacity reflect a contemporary art world flooded with Boschian paintings, prints, and even tapestries, which varied in quality and authorship but were loosely united by an emphasis on hell scenes and human folly. This inundation of Boschian works invited artists and commentators to play around with Bosch as a creative persona, to remake his image anew, just as Hondius did in his portrait of the artist.

This kind of play points to another facet to Bosch's reception that underlies the body of printed works published as his "inventions," one by which the label "Bosch" refers not just to humorous or hellish subject matter but to creative capacity itself. In returning to Bosch's own characterization of his *ingenium* in his drawing *The Field Has Eyes*—and to his early-sixteenth-century context—we find the particular origins of his reception in print. Bosch's dual persona as singular creator and cunning discerner has provocative counterpart in the visual and written output of his immediate contemporaries, as well as in the innumerable works produced after him.

Alart du Hameel and the Art of Relentless Invention

Bosch's circle of interlocutors remains elusive and difficult to reconstruct with any precision, but the early history of printed works associated with his name provides a first foothold. The architect Alart du Hameel was Bosch's most significant artistic contemporary in 's-Hertogenbosch and also the first designer of Boschian prints.⁵³ Hameel's *ingenium* manifests not only in the realm of built design but also in his clever response to Bosch's art.

Hameel enjoyed a successful career as an architect (*bouwmeester*) and designer of Flamboyant Gothic structures. He served as architect of St. John's Cathedral in Den Bosch, for which he notably designed the south porch (c. 1470–90) and built the church nave and chapel of the Confraternity of Our Lady. From 1478 to 1495, Hameel was himself a member of that confraternity, the same to which Bosch belonged, which confirms that the two men knew each other and were aware of their mutual creative endeavors. For a time, Hameel also worked outside his hometown. He designed the sacrament house for the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp, in collaboration with the sculptor Thomas Best, between 1485 and 1487, and during the years 1494–95, he was jointly appointed city architect of Leuven and *magister operis* of the city's St. Peter's Church. In 1502 he became a citizen of Antwerp, though he must have still maintained connection to Den Bosch; the latter city commissioned him to make an engraved portrait of Philip the Fair in 1504. In late January 1507, a memorial mass was said in Hameel's name at St. John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch,

the church he had helped to build. That Hameel, like Bosch, took pride in his hometown is evident from his small but remarkable output as a printmaker. His twelve signed engravings encompass narrative scenes, architectural designs, ornament prints, and a cluster of compositions inspired by Bosch.⁵⁴ Hameel inscribed his prints with his name and hallmark (which includes the letter “A” for “Alart”), paralleling a practice common among northern printmakers of the period.⁵⁵ More exceptionally, however, he also inscribed his plates with the word *bosche*, in reference to his town of origin.

Already we can see an affinity between Hameel’s self-presentation and that of Bosch in his *Field Has Eyes* drawing; here is a designer who asserts his authorial status in direct relation to the intimate context of Den Bosch itself. The three Boschian prints that Hameel produced—*Saint Christopher* (cat. 5), *The Last Judgment* (cat. 12), and *The Besieged Elephant* (cat. 15)—all include his hometown marker. It may be that Hameel’s later-sixteenth-century audience, and especially the publisher Hieronymus Cock, who issued updated renditions of two of these prints (cat. 14, 16), mistook the inscription as a reference to Bosch the artist, a confusion that ultimately derived from Bosch’s own use of his hometown (rather than his family name) in signatures on his paintings.

The actual relationship between Hameel’s Boschian engravings and works by Bosch himself remains uncertain, but both the subjects of Hameel’s prints and many of their individual details—men battling animals, flatulent demons, and somersaulting monsters (fig. 6)—seem unthinkable without the precedent of his celebrated fellow townsman. That is not to say that Hameel’s engravings should be understood as reproductive prints after finished compositions by Bosch. In some cases, Hameel may have been following models emerging from Bosch’s workshop; yet as with the many prints after Bosch produced in the latter half of the sixteenth century, it is equally likely that Hameel was drawing free inspiration from his prominent contemporary.⁵⁶ Even in works that do not have explicitly Boschian subjects, there is evidence of an affinity in the two artists’ approach to invention.



Fig. 6. Alart du Hameel, detail cat. 12



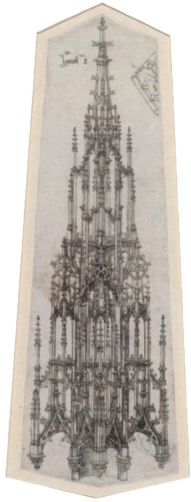
LEFT: Fig. 7. Alart du Hameel, *The Lovers with a Fool by a Fountain*, 1478–1506. Engraving. The British Museum, London 1854,0513.36

ABOVE: Fig. 8. Hieronymus Bosch, *Studies for a Temptation of Saint Anthony*, n.d. Pen and brown ink. Musée du Louvre, Paris 20871 recto

A particularly witty engraving by Hameel depicts two lovers courting beside a fountain that is powered by a micturating boy, who looks up at a bird as he casually sends his stream into the basin below (fig. 7).⁵⁷ The sense of amorous potentiality conveyed by the trellis of ripe grapes and the boy's euphemistic act of release is mocked by a fool beneath the fountain who smirks sardonically as he reaches up the lady's skirt. The fool's face and posture strongly

recall a character in the lower left of one of Bosch's own drawing sheets (fig. 8), which would suggest that Hameel had specific knowledge of that figure study.⁵⁸ It is even more intriguing that Hameel inscribed his hallmark and the word *bosche* directly in line with the little boy's genitals. Fountains in late medieval and early Renaissance works were often figured as emblems of artistic creativity, drawing on an understanding of the mind as inherently generative and animated by fluid spirits coursing through the body; the male member was even considered metonymic of an artist's pen or paintbrush.⁵⁹ By this association, Hameel almost seems to imply that the town of 's-Hertogenbosch was also a generative font of invention, powered by the imaginative creations of himself and Bosch alike. Hameel demonstrates the productive nature of his own *ingenium*, while cleverly drawing on Bosch's subversive model as a source of inspiration.

A few of Hameel's engravings do not include the *bosche* inscription, perhaps because they represent specific projects he produced for other cities; for instance, his *Gothic Baldachin* (fig. 9)—plausibly linked to the sacrament house he created for Antwerp's cathedral—has only his name and hallmark.⁶⁰ Although it is impossible to date Hameel's prints with any precision, there is also no reason to assume that any engraving inscribed *bosche* necessarily



predates his departure for Antwerp in 1494. The inscription more likely evinces Hameel's desire to tout his local origins and support an image of 's-Hertogenbosch as a site of significant artistic activity. Although his hometown could hardly compete with Antwerp's burgeoning art market, Bosch's art had put it on the map, and Hameel clearly defined his own creative endeavors in relation to that context, regardless of where else he worked.

The strongest evidence for Hameel's glorification of Den Bosch as a locus of invention comes in the form of his most impressive engraving, a monumental image printed from three separate plates and measuring more than three-and-a-half feet high (fig. 10).⁶¹ The print documents his design for a monstrance commissioned by St. John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch in the years 1484–85.⁶² The actual monstrance, which would have been a costly goldsmith work of extremely large size, does not survive today.⁶³ Hameel's engraving not only proffers the object as an exemplar of Flamboyant Gothic invention but also publicizes the work as a prestigious local commission, which through the medium of print had the potential to reach a wider audience than even the original monstrance itself.⁶⁴

There were several engravings showing tour-de-force goldsmith works created by contemporary engravers such as Martin Schongauer and the Master W with the Key, but both Hameel's *Monstrance* and his *Gothic Baldachin* are unusual in their inclusion of ground plans that showcase the objects' geometrical sophistication and Hameel's own ingenuity as an architect.⁶⁵ The composition of the *Monstrance* engraving in particular, with vertical view above and ground plan below, recalls the format used in architectural drawings for sacrament houses and tabernacles from around the same period.⁶⁶

At the very bottom of Hameel's *Monstrance*, the plan shows his design to one-sixth scale and from an aerial perspective, such that we see all the object's sections collapsed in a single diagram.⁶⁷ When expanded, the diagram reveals a triangular outer structure surrounding an inner hexagon. The hexagonal base serves as platform for the glass tube that would have held the host itself. The dense areas of the ground plan represent the points on this base from which the spindly buttresses ascend upwards and join at the object's pinnacle. It is here at the summit where Hameel has inscribed his full name in foliate Gothic lettering, while at the base of the monstrance, in counterpoint to his personal signature, the name S'HERTOGHEN BOSCH appears in all capitals.

TOP: Fig. 9. Alart du Hameel, *Design for a Gothic Baldachin*, c. 1478–1506. Engraving. The British Museum, London 1924,0617.5

BOTTOM: Fig. 10. Alart du Hameel, *Monstrance*, c. 1484–85. Engraving. Albertina, Vienna



Fig. 11. Alart du Hameel, detail fig. 10

Hameel's *Monstrance* engraving frames the object simultaneously as the product of Hameel's *ingenium* and as the result of sophisticated artistic patronage in his hometown. Yet Hameel's own self-presentation does not end there. Adorning the pillar base on the left-hand side of the print, a banderole that reads *non desino* ("I do not cease") is accompanied by two minuscule depictions of what appear to be an astrolabe and a short line of musical notation (fig. 11).⁶⁸ Through this personal motto, Hameel can only have intended to present the relentless pursuit of architectural invention as his unique contribution to the liberal arts in his local milieu. Architecture, after all, was understood by fifteenth-century writers such as Nicholas of Cusa to share an important kinship with the sister arts of astronomy and music, in their concern for measurement and in their governance by the celestial harmony of the spheres.⁶⁹ Creation in all three realms was spurred by the abstract pursuit of divine perfection. Yet while

astronomy and music were inherently immaterial endeavors, architecture had the added challenge of achieving immateriality through material form. Hence Hameel's assertion that he is ceaseless in his efforts to push beyond the limits of his medium.

The juxtaposition of teeming Boschian monsters with elevated Gothic design in Hameel's printed oeuvre reflects his primary working realm as architect: the physical space of the late medieval church, both its ascendant structure and the playful grotesques creeping about its margins.⁷⁰ At the same time, Hameel's conscious promotion of design as intellectual endeavor rather than mere craft shows his self-awareness as a creator, much as Bosch did through his unprecedented approach to drawing as independent medium and his pseudo-Boethian commentary on his *Field Has Eyes* composition. For the Boschian prints produced in the later sixteenth century by Pieter Bruegel and other artists, Hameel's precedent for claiming the status of "inventor" in oblique relation to Bosch's model was a foundational move. Bruegel actively drew on Hameel's Boschian prints in making his own engravings of the Deadly Sins.⁷¹ And when Hieronymus Cock issued updated interpretations of Hameel's *Last Judgment* and *Besieged Elephant* in the mid-sixteenth century, he was further extending the chain of association; Hameel's compositions, inspired but not slavishly derived from Bosch's example, become the models for still further invention. It is to the ingenious mind, rather than the physical hand, of Hieronymus Bosch to which both Hameel's prints and those published by Cock foremost trace their origins.

Joris van Halewijn and the Art of Deception

We have seen that the positive force of *ingenium* provided motive for the early dialogue with Bosch's art, but the sinister potential of the mind's creative powers proves equally relevant to his afterlife. How should we understand the more uncanny side of Bosch, the sense that he is not only a creator but also a spy covertly observing the creative endeavors of others? Inkling of this more devious conception of *ingenium* already emerge in the writings of another of the artist's contemporaries, the Netherlandish nobleman Joris van Halewijn, who served in the employ of Philip the Fair and thus mingled in the elite courtly circle that patronized Bosch's works.⁷² Halewijn stands out among his fellow members of the local nobility for his output as a humanist writer, including works—in the tradition of the pseudo-Boethian *On the Discipline of Scholars*—concerned with the proper education of youth in the Low Countries.⁷³ Most of Halewijn's writing survives only in manuscript form, but his treatise *On the Restoration of the Latin Language*, composed around 1508, did eventually reach the printing press in 1533.⁷⁴

As a whole, Halewijn's treatise argues that a strong foundation in Latin is essential to an understanding of grammar, to elegant expression in vernacular languages, and to the molding of a sophisticated mind. One especially provocative chapter points to the ways in which the liberal arts can deceive alike a young student not properly trained in the discernment of truth or an elderly mind that has grown weak with age. Halewijn first discusses this issue in relation to grammar and then goes on to single out astrology and music for their deceptive potential, the same liberal arts to which Hameel alludes emblematically in his *Monstrance* engraving. Halewijn then proceeds, at the close of the chapter, to discuss even shadier activities that might seem the oppositional counterpart to humanist endeavor:

There are many other arts of deception, which indeed prefer to go under the name of profit. By these arts, tricksters and others shrewd in wit [*ingenio*] have deceived through the appearance [*verisimilitudine*] of reason those who are ignorant, less keen, and credulous, and [this has been true] for ages already, since the beginning of the world. For instance, take alchemy, as it is commonly called, and many other kinds of divinations; among them are fowling and augury . . . and so it is with soothsayers, diviners, prophets, imposters, pyromancers, geomancers, necromancers, magicians, and many others.⁷⁵

Halewijn's delightful list of crooks encompasses above all those who mislead through the manipulation of material matter and through the performance of supernatural vision. In the writer's starkly Christian milieu, these kinds of magical manipulations were suspect, if not heretical. Alchemists, who claim to transform base metals into gold, and the various types of augurs, who purport to read heavenly signs, all employ specific media for their craft, whether fire, birds, or the bodies of the dead. Soothsayers and diviners claim to have powers of seeing beyond the human realm and of communicating with the kind of ghostly specters said by Lampsonius to inhabit the mind of Bosch himself. Although Halewijn does

not make reference to visual artists, his emphasis on attending to false appearances, and his description of deception itself as a form of clever invention, has more than a little resonance with that profession.

Several of the Boschian prints produced in the mid-sixteenth century imply that the artist was understood precisely as this kind of creative trickster. In the 1567 *Shrove Tuesday* engraved by Pieter van der Heyden and published by Hieronymus Cock (cat. 23), the inscription ascribing the work to Bosch as “inventor” appears on an image within the image, a picture tacked above the fireplace of an owl with a peg leg dressed in the guise of a pilgrim. By figuring Bosch as a duplicitous creature who postures as something he is not, the print points to the deviousness of the artist’s creations. The peg leg also associates the owl with the category of crippled beggars, such as those depicted in the pendant to the *drollen* engraving. In that respect, the owl’s ingenious disguise might also lead to profit, as Halewijn’s own description of tricksters emphasizes. The picture above the hearth might even be taken as a printed image itself, in which case the notion of gain through creative deception becomes a droll comment on Antwerp’s thriving mid-century print market, on which so many of these Boschian images were bought and sold.

Even more provocative is the engraving *The Conjuror* (or *Charlatan*) (cat. 27), a composition that also survives in both drawn and painted versions associated with Bosch’s name. The work was engraved by a fellow native of ’s-Hertogenbosch, Balthasar van den Bos, who, like Hameel, seems to have taken an interest in perpetuating and disseminating the tradition that Bosch had established in his hometown. The fraudulent conjuror on the right side of the composition compels his credulous victim to spew forth a frog from her mouth, while another man snatches her purse from behind. In addition to the conceit of profiting on the gullibility of ignorant minds, the composition also comments on the cunning wiles of Bosch’s art. At the base of the conjuror’s makeshift table, a little dog in a fool’s costume is depicted beside the inscription “Hieronymus Bosch inventor,” along with a hoop through which his owner presumably compels him to jump and perform tricks but which here frames the word “inventor” itself, alluding again to the playful snares of Boschian creations. There is an affinity between Bosch’s art and that of the conjuror, whose craft entrances his clientele to gape in awe and fall slavishly under his spell.⁷⁶ At the same time, the hoop is like a magnifying lens or monocle, zooming in on something that the unknowing crowd does not see; the conjuror, like Bosch, is using the powers of his *ingenium* that his audience lacks.⁷⁷ The conjuror even conceals a peeping owl in the basket that he wears around his waist, which by the later sixteenth century had almost become a kind of Boschian signature itself.⁷⁸

Yet closest by far to Bosch’s double nature as expressed in *The Field Has Eyes* are the tactics employed by his greatest imitator, Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Despite his characterization by Lampsonius and van Mander as an artist who transformed Bosch’s ingenious dreams into laughter, Bruegel got what Bosch was about on his own terms. His 1557 engraving *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (cat. 11) famously blurs the line between deception and invention through the inscription in the lower left ascribing the design to Bosch, even though Bruegel’s extant preparatory drawing confirms that he was its true creator.⁷⁹ This move on the part of Bruegel,

in collaboration with his publisher, Hieronymus Cock, is singular in the history of Renaissance prints and should be understood to reflect the peculiar nature of Bosch's legacy.

Perhaps the only immediately comparable example to this authorial sleight of hand surfaces in the visual reception of Albrecht Dürer, the other early-sixteenth-century artist in northern Europe who took equivalent interest in positioning himself as an inventor. The German artist's afterlife, like that of Bosch himself, endured prolifically following his death, well into the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁸⁰ Sebald Beham's woodcut *The Head of Christ*, first issued circa 1520, recalls Dürer's famous painted *Self-Portrait* of 1500 and includes the latter's monogram at its base rather than Beham's own personal marker.⁸¹ There is some uncertainty whether it was Beham or a later printer who added Dürer's initials to the plate, but it cannot be ruled out that Beham himself orchestrated this deception. Both the marketability of Dürer's name and Beham's sense of belonging to a local artistic school may well have motivated his conflation of his own artistic identity with that of his great northern predecessor.

This is certainly true of the relationship between Bosch and Bruegel posited by the *Big Fish* engraving. Like the disguised owl in *Shrove Tuesday* and the titular figure in *The Conjuror*, Bruegel has now become the one whose true identity is hidden under the guise of another. Yet just as the owl in Bosch's *Field Has Eyes* is more revealing of the artist's creative identity than a mere signature, Bruegel's *Big Fish* demonstrates the dual nature of his artistic *ingenium* as both generative and guileful at once. It is the ultimate response to the innovative path that Bosch had forged in the history of Netherlandish art and invention.

Ingenuity Reprised

Bruegel's *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* was the first print disseminated on the Antwerp market to claim Bosch as its inventor, and it became a motivating force behind the many other Boschian prints published in its immediate wake. The engraving also marks the moment—around the same time of Guevara's *Commentaries on Painting* and a just over a decade before Lampsonius's treatise on the Netherlandish painters—when Bosch and his foundational counterparts such as Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden increasingly came to be canonized as part of the history of art in the Low Countries. Artists and theorists alike felt strongly that the works and legacy of Bosch, together with those of his early Netherlandish peers, constituted a tradition that should be perpetuated.

Uniquely, however, Bosch is the sole figure among the early Netherlandish artists for whom that perpetuating impulse was significantly pursued through prints, alongside the many copies and adaptations of his works in painting, drawing, and tapestry. Alart du Hameel's engravings, as an early printed response to Bosch that emerged from his hometown, already offered a precedent for the dramatic Boschian revival that Bruegel would later incite in Antwerp. Bosch's own status as an artist of exceptional imaginative capacity lent itself especially well to the print medium. The category of "inventor" to designate the individual



Fig. 12. Johann Theodor de Bry after Pieter van der Heyden, in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Oyster Shell*, from *Emblemata saecularia*, 1596. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 13. Johann Theodor de Bry after unknown artist, *The Fool's Doctor*, from *Emblemata saecularia*, 1596. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

whose conception underlay a work's design, even if not the same as the individual who actually incised the woodblock or metal plate, was already built into the print production and publishing industry. By asserting his foundational role as inventor, Bosch helped to provoke his own vast and long-enduring afterlife in the reproductive medium.

Of course, not all the machinations of Bosch's followers were as inventive as Bruegel's *Big Fish*, with its sneaky and sophisticated evocation of Bosch's authorial status. As Bosch's own *Field Has Eyes* drawing already implied, true *ingenium* is hardly a ubiquitous quality. It was far more common to obscure authorship and agency in print by ripping off an earlier artist's design, by simply using what had already been invented by others—what we might think of today as less aligned with artistic appropriation and more akin to bald plagiarism. As a coda to the history traced in this essay, it bears considering an interesting example of that far more blatantly derivative phenomenon.

In the book *Worldly Emblems* published in 1596 by Johan Theodor de Bry, several of the individual images exploit the oeuvre of prints after both Bosch and Bruegel without any acknowledgment of their original inventors.⁸² The Boschian compositions *Merrymakers in a Mussel Shell* (fig. 12, cat. 20), *The Loving Couple* (cat. 25), and *The Blind Leading the Blind* (cat. 17, 18) appear among its pages, as do Bruegel's *Lean Kitchen* and *Fat Kitchen*. These images mingle in the series with many other genre scenes of drunkenness, excess, lust, and laziness.

Yet one emblem from de Bry's publication stands out because it mocks not base human instincts but instead the aspirations of an inventive mind (fig. 13).⁸³ A doctor wearing a scholar's fur-lined robe, cap, and opaque glasses asserts through the Latin inscription below,

“By my art, the mind will be nothing but all wisdom.”⁸⁴ His assistant helps an obese man to crank out all the fools and donkeys from his belly, while the doctor himself inspects a vile containing yet another fool inside it. On the right, a man immersed in a hot bath wears a glass encasing on his head as he sieves out rodents from his brain and emits a vaporous cloud of pure inventions above. As if a visualization of *ingenium* itself, the cloud includes instruments of science, music, war, and engineering, as well as games, birds, insects, and even a bat.⁸⁵ But of course, the doctor’s alleged art is no more authentic than that of an alchemist or a conjuror: there is no real way to separate out the mind’s higher feats from its baser impulses. That this image of the doctor’s failed ingenuity finds a home among de Bry’s other emblems of more typical Boschian and Bruegelian folly—some of them brazenly stolen from the two artists’ works—suggests the ways that the double-sided nature of *ingenium* continued to resurface in dialogue and juxtaposition with Bosch’s mottled legacy.

The art historian Erwin Panofsky, at the close of his foundational 1953 study *Early Netherlandish Painting*, wrote that he would not address Bosch’s works because their meaning remained so elusive. “This, too high for my wit, I prefer to omit,” Panofsky declares, thus concluding pages of analysis in which he had confidently unpacked the symbolic meanings of so many works by van Eyck and the other early Netherlandish masters.⁸⁶ Even for Panofsky, Bosch’s powers of *ingenium* were of a different order. Bosch is always at once a generative creative mind and an entrancing conjuror, presiding over his inventions and watching to see whether we can make sense of it all.

Notes

In writing this essay, I am especially indebted to discussions with Joseph Koerner and Peter Parshall, to Denise Gill for her penetrating reading, and to Christopher Wood, whose seminar long ago first got me started down the Boschian path.

1 Paul Lafond, *The Prints of Hieronymus Bosch* [1914], ed. and trans. Susan Fargo Gilchrist (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 2002), 91–92, cat. 21.

2 “Dese Ieronimus bosch drollen, lang ghepropheteert / siet, hoe elck sijnen strijt hier den sin gheeft. / Soo ongheschickt, nu oock tswereelts strijt verabuijseert / alsoo dat elck vat, gheeft uit, sulcks hij in, heeft.” I am very grateful to Samuel Mareel for his assistance with this translation.

3 For further discussion of the conflation between invention and bodily emissions in “grotesque” ornament prints, see Madeleine C. Viljoen, “The Airs of Early Modern Ornament Prints,” *Oxford Art Journal* 37.2 (2014): 117–33.

4 On Hieronymus Cock’s activities as print publisher, see Elizabeth Wyckoff’s essay in this volume, as well as Joris van Grieken, Ger Luijten, and Jan van der Stock, *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2013).

5 Lafond, *The Prints of Hieronymus Bosch*. See also Denis Sutton and Jean Adhémar, “Lettres inédites de Degas à Paul Lafond et autres documents,” *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 109 (1987): 159–80, esp. 159–61, 161n1.

6 See the canonical study by Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), esp. 38–60; and also Jane Chance Nitzsche, *The Genius Figure in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975); Peter Cornelius Claussen, “Früher Künstlerstolz: Mittelalterliche Signaturen als Quelle der Kunstsoziologie,” in Karl Clausberg, Dieter Kimpel, Hans-Joachim Kunst, and Robert Suckale, eds., *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: Anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte* (Gießen: Anabas-Verlag Günter Kampf, 1981), 7–34; Penelope Murray, “Poetic Genius and Its Classical Origins,” in Murray, ed., *Genius: The History of an Idea* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 9–31; Stephen Perkinson, “Engin and Artifice: Describing Creative Agency at the Court of France, ca. 1400,” *Gesta* 41.1 (2002): 51–67; and Arne Moritz, ed., *Ars imitator naturam: Transformationen eine Paradigmas menschlicher Kreativität im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2010).

7 Martin Kemp, “The ‘Super-Artist’ as Genius: The Sixteenth-Century View,” in Murray, ed., *Genius: The History of an Idea*, 33–53; and Jürgen Klein, “Genius, Ingenium, Imagination: Aesthetic Theories of Production from the Renaissance to Romanticism,” in Frederick Burwick and Klein, eds., *The Romantic Imagination: Literature and Art in England and Germany* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), 19–62. For discussion of how the scholarly interpretation of the notion of genius has changed over time, see also Patricia A. Emison, “The Historiography of *Ingegno*,” in *Creating the ‘Divine’ Artist from Dante to Michelangelo* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 321–48.

8 The emergence of “invention” terminology among artists, architects, and theorists in Italy is evident already in the fifteenth century. For an excellent summary, see Martin Kemp, “From ‘Mimesis’ to ‘Fantasia’: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration, and Genius in the Visual Arts,” *Viator* 8 (1977): 347–98.

9 For the ancient origins of this term, see David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 99–101.

10 For discussion of only a few of many possible examples, see Emilio Hidalgo-Serna, Lynne Ballew, and Holly Wilson, “‘Ingenium’ in the Work of Vives,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 16.4 (1983): 228–41; Jan Bialostocki, “Vivitur ingenio,” in Stephan Füssel and Joachim Knappe, eds., *Poesis et pictura: Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Handschriften und alten Drucken: Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1989), 223–34; Hélène Vérin, *La gloire des ingénieurs: l’intelligence technique du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Michel, 1993); Jutta Bacher, “‘Ingenium vires superat’: Die Emanzipation der Mechanik und ihr Verhältnis zu *Ars*, *Scientia* und *Philosophia*,” in Hans Höllander, ed., *Erkenntnis, Erfindung, Konstruktion: Studien zur Bildgeschichte von Naturwissenschaften und Technik vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Mann, 2000), 519–55.

11 See Kemp, “From ‘Mimesis’ to ‘Fantasia,’” esp. 361–75; E. Ruth Harvey, *The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1975), esp. 43–51; and further discussion below.

12 For an interesting exploration of this notion, see the various collected essays in Sharon Gregory and Sally Anne Hickson, eds., *Inganmo – The Art of Deception: Imitation, Reception, and Deceit in Early Modern Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

13 According to David Landau and Peter Parshall, the first instance of the Latin verb *invenit* in the history of printmaking appears in Marcantonio Raimondi’s engraving *Bathers* (c. 1509–10) in reference to Michelangelo’s cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*. Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 143–44.

14 For a useful summary of Bosch’s life in his hometown, see G. C. M. van Dijk, “Hieronymus van Aken / Hieronymus Bosch: His Life and ‘Portraits,’” in Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet, and Barbera van Kooij, eds., *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 9–16; and Ester Vink, “Hieronymus Bosch’s Life in ‘s-Hertogenbosch,” in *ibid.*, 18–23.

15 On the van Aken family, see G. C. M. van Dijk, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken, alias Bosch, de feiten: Familie, vrienden en opdrachtgevers ca. 1400 – ca. 1635* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 2001), 13–41. For the reference from the ledgers of the Confraternity of Our Lady from 1509–10: “... Jheronimi van Aken, schilder ofte maelder die hem selver scrift Jheronimus Bosch,” see *ibid.*, 182; and Vink, “Hieronymus Bosch’s Life in ‘s-Hertogenbosch,” 19n6. See further discussion of Bosch’s signature in Tobias Burg, *Die Signatur: Formen und Funktionen vom Mittelalter bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2007), 427–34.

16 See van Dijk, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 51–55; and Stefan Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch: Malerei als Vision, Lehrbild und Kunstwerk* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), 23–30.

17 Stefan Fischer, *Jheronimus Bosch: The Complete Works* (Cologne: Taschen, 2013), 247–49, no. 11, with prior literature. On Bosch’s innovative approach to the triptych format, see Lynn

F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 189–219.

18 Antonio de Beatis, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d’Aragona durch Deutschland, die Niederlande, Frankreich und Oberitalien, 1517–1518*, ed. and trans. Ludwig Pastor (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1905), 116: “Ce son poi alcune travole de diverse bizzerrerie, dove se contrafanno mari, aeri, boschi, campagne et molte altre cose, tali che escono da una cozza marina, altri che cacano grue, donne et homini et bianchi et negri de diversi acti et modi, ucelli, animali de ogni sorte et con molta naturalità, cose tanto piacevole et fantastiche che ad quelli che non ne hanno cognitione in nullo modo se li potriano ben descrivere.” For English translation, see Beatis, *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis: Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, France and Italy, 1517–1518*, ed. J. R. Hale, trans. J. R. Hale and J. M. A. Lindon (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1979), 94. For discussion of this passage, see especially Jan Steppe, *Jheronimus Bosch: bijdragen bij gelegenheid van de herdenkingstentoonstelling te ‘s-Hertogenbosch 1967* (‘s-Hertogenbosch: Hieronymus Bosch Exhibition Foundation, 1967), 8–12; Joseph Koerner, “Bosch’s Equipment,” in Lorraine Daston, ed., *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 27–65, esp. 41–45; Reindert Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness: Hieronymus Bosch: The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Zwolle: WBooks, 2011), 18–19.

19 For an overview of Bosch’s known and possible patrons, see van Dijk, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 57–71.

20 See discussion in Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness*, 271–74.

21 Fischer, *Jheronimus Bosch*, 250–51, no. 13, with prior literature. It is disputed whether Philip’s commission can be identified with the Vienna *Last Judgment*. For the payment document, see van Dijk, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken*, 91: “A Jeronimus van Aeken dit Bosch paintre . . . ung grant tableau de painture de neuf pietz de hault et onze pietz de long, ou doit estre le Jugement de dieu assavoir paradis et infer.” Original document in Rijssel, Archives départementales du Nord, archives du Nord, côte B.2185, fol. 230v.

22 Margaret of Austria had a *St. Anthony Abbot* in her 1516 Mechelen palace inventory explicitly attributed to Bosch, for which see Dagmar Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken durch Kunst: Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 269–70. Philip of Burgundy, bastard son of the Duke of Burgundy Philip the Good, owned *A Stone Operation* that can also be associated with Bosch. See Jos Sterk, *Philips van Bourgondië (1465–1524): Bisschop van Utrecht als protagonist van de Renaissance, zijn leven en maecenaat* (Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 1980), 55, 248.

23 Fritz Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch: Die Zeichnungen: Werkstaat und Nachfolge bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout: Brepols 2012), 28–57, 86–113. The ongoing Bosch Research and Conservation Project, which will culminate in a 2016 exhibition in ‘s-Hertogenbosch and Madrid, also promises to shed new light on the question of Bosch’s workshop and original output.

24 Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch*, *passim*.

25 *Ibid.*, 170–75, no. 51, with additional literature.

26 On the owl in Bosch’s art, see Paul Vandenbroeck: “Bubo significans: Die Eule als Sinnbild von Schlechtigkeit und Torheit, vor allem in der niederländischen und deutschen Bilddarstellung und bei Jheronimus Bosch: I,” *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (1985): 19–136.

27 Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 176–77, no. 5v. On Bosch's unique approach to drawing as medium, see especially Joseph Koerner, "Impossible Objects: Bosch's Realism," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 46 (2004): 73–97.

28 Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 14, 24–25. It is debated whether the *Tree-Man* drawing predates or postdates Bosch's representation of that figure in the hell scene of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, but regardless, the drawing is too elaborate to be considered merely a preliminary study.

29 For extended analysis of Bosch's *Field Has Eyes* and *Tree-Man* drawings in relation to his creative and local identity, see Matthijs IJssink, *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch: kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel (c. 1528–1569) en Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450–1516)* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Orange House, 2009), 30–89.

30 "miserrimi quippe e[st] i[n] genii se[m]p[er] uti i[n] ve[n]tis et nu[m]q[uam] i[n] veni[en]dis."

31 For historical background and a modern edition of the text, see Pseudo-Boethius, *De disciplina scoliarum, edition critique, introduction et notes*, ed. Olga Weijers (Leiden: Brill, 1976). The passage derives from book V, line 4 and appears in the context of a larger discussion of good pedagogy and learning methods. See further analysis in Paul Vandenbroeck, "Over Hieronymus Bosch, met een toelichting bij de tekst op tekening KdZ 549 in het Berlijnse Kupferstichkabinett," *Archivum artis Lovaniense: bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de kunst der Nederlanden* (1981): 151–88.

32 Van Dijk, *Op zoek naar Hieronymus van Aken*, 102–3. Felipe was the son of Don Diego de Guevara, a majordomus of Philip the Fair, who patronized Bosch during the artist's lifetime.

33 Felipe de Guevara, *Commentarios de la Pintura*, in F. J. Sánchez Cantón, ed., *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte Español*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta Clásica Española, 1923), 159–61, esp. 159: "...inventor de monstruos y quimeras." For English translation, see James Snyder, *Bosch in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), 28–30. For a discussion of Bosch's reception in literary writings, especially in Spain and Portugal, see Helmut Heidenreich, "Hieronymus Bosch in Some Literary Contexts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 171–99. For Guevara's notion of invention as related to his interest in Netherlandish art, see Marieke van Wamel, "An Iberian Dialogue: Francisco de Holanda versus Felipe de Guevara," in Thijs Weststeijn, ed., *Art and Knowledge in Rome and the Early Modern Republic of Letters, 1500–1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 23–38, esp. 33–34.

34 Guevara, *Commentarios*, 160: "... haber sido observantísimo del decoro, y haber guardado los límites de naturaleza cuidadosísimamente."

35 Ibid., 159: "Non niego que no pintase extrañas efigies de cosas, pero esto tan solamente a un propósito que fué tratando del infierno, en la qual materia, quiriendo figurar diablos, imaginó composiciones de cosas admirables."

36 Fra José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, in *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 12 (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1909), 635–39. For English translation, as quoted here, see Snyder, *Bosch in Perspective*, 34–41.

37 Fischer, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 246–47, no. 10. The most extensive study of this painting remains Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture-Writing Deciphered*, trans. M. A. Bax-Botha (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1979).

38 Sigüenza, *Historia*, 366–67: "... y todo esto para mostrar

que una alma ayudada de la divina gracia, y llevada de su mano a semejante manera de vida, aunque en la fantasía y a los ojos de fuera y dentro represente el enemigo lo que puede mover a risa ó delirio vano, ó ya y otras desordenadas pasiones, no seran parte para derribarle ni moverle de su proposito." English translation from Snyder, *Bosch in Perspective*, 37.

39 For exploration of demonic perturbations as manifest in works of art and as impactful on their viewers, see Michael Cole, "The Demonic Arts and the Origin of Medium," *The Art Bulletin* 84.4 (2002): 621–40; Tanja Klemm, "Bildbesessenheit: 'Der Heilige Antonius von Dämonen gepeinigt' in graphischen Darstellungen der Renaissance und die *perturbationes* des Bildbetrachters," in Matthias Jung and Jan-Christoph Heilinger, eds., *Funktionen der Erlebens: Neue Perspektiven des qualitativen Bewusstseins* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 305–33; and Klemm, *Bildphysiologie: Wahrnehmung und Körper in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), 247–70.

40 See Claudia Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 14–22; Swan, "Eyes Wide Shut: Early Modern Imagination, Demonology, and the Visual Arts," *Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur frühen Neuzeit* 7.4 (2003): 560–81; Linda C. Hults, *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 27–56; Roland Kanz, *Die Kunst des Capriccio: Kreativer Eigensinn in Renaissance und Barock* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002), esp. 62–69, 89–93; Noel L. Brann, *The Debate over the Origin of Genius during the Italian Renaissance: The Theories of Supernatural Frenzy and Natural Melancholy in Accord and in Conflict on the Threshold of the Scientific Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); and Eugenio Garin, "Phantasia e imaginatio fra Marsilio Ficino e Pietro Pomponazii," in M. Fattori and M. Bianchi, eds., *Phantasia-Imaginatio* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1988), 3–20.

41 See the important discussion in Peter Parshall, "Graphic Knowledge: Albrecht Dürer and the Imagination," *Art Bulletin* 95.3 (2013): 393–410.

42 Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 213–14; and Jan Bialostocki, "Vernunft und Ingenium in Dürers kunsttheoretischem Denken," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1971): 107–14.

43 Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle, "Introduction: The Literatures of Dreaming," in *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions: The Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 1–30; Maria Ruvoldt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration: Metaphors of Sex, Sleep, and Dreams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Klemm, *Bildphysiologie*, 209–45.

44 Christine Göttler, "Fire, Smoke, and Vapour: Jan Brueghel's 'Poetic Hells': 'Ghespook' in Early Modern European Art," in Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber, eds., *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 19–46, esp. 19–22; and Walter S. Gibson, "Bosch's Dreams: A Response to the Art of Bosch in the Sixteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 74.2 (1992): 205–18.

45 Dominicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* (Antwerp: the widow of Hieronymus Cock, 1572).

46 For the full text of this poem, see cat. 1, in this volume.

47 Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, oil on canvas, 30 3/4 x 45 1/16 in. (78 x 116 cm), inv. no. 2764. See Michael Philipp, et al., *Schrecken und Lust: die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius*

von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst (Munich: Hirmer, 2008), 129–31, cat. 24.

48 Walter S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 28–66, esp. 33–35. Cotgrave's 1611 French–English dictionary defines *drolerie* as “rye, waggerie, good roguerie; a merrie pranke, a pleasant, and knavish part; good fellowship.” As reprinted in Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (Menston: The Scholar Press Limited, 1968), Ee6v.

49 Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium*, no. 19: “Quis novus hic Hieronymus Orbi / Boschius? ingeniosa magistri / Somnia peniculoque, styloque / Tanta imitator arte peritus. / Ut superet tamen interim et illum? / Macte animo, Petre, mactus ut arte / Namque tuo, veterisque magistri Ridiculo, salibusque referto / In graphices genere inclita laudum / Praemia ubique, et ab omnibus ullo / Artifice haud leviora mereris.”

50 “...spoockerijen en drollen.” For Bruegel's biography, see Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the First Edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–1604)*, ed. Hessel Miedema, trans. D. Cook-Radmore, 6 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994–99), 1:190–94, fol. 233r–234r.

51 A. J. J. Delen, “Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar,” *De Gulden Passer* 10 (1932): 1–24, 11: “12 Saint Antoine drolerie” and “4 les 7 pechez droleries” purchased from Cock and sent by Plantin to the Parisian book dealer Martin le Jeune.

52 See Kerry Barrett, “Boschian Bruegel, Bruegelian Bosch: Hieronymus Cock's Production of ‘Bosch’ Prints,” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5.2 (2013): <http://www.jhna.org/index.php/past-issues/volume-5-issue-2-2013/209-boschian-bruegel-bruegelian-bosch-hieronymus-cocks-production-of-bosch-prints>. For a similar conclusion about painted copies after Bosch, see Eric de Bruyn, “De navolgers van Jheronimus Bosch: ‘zotte’ moraalridders van het penseel,” in Jan Op de Beeck, et al., *De zotte schilders: moraalridders van het penseel rond Bosch, Bruegel en Brouwer* (Mechelen: Centrum voor Oude Kunst, ‘t Vliegende Peert, 2003), 11–15.

53 For the details of Hameel's biography, see especially *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon: Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 68 (Munich: Saur, 1992–), 429–30; and C. Peeters, *De Sint Janskathedraal te 's-Hertogenbosch* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1985), 39–40. See also Adam von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, Walter L. Strauss, ed. (New York: Abaris Books, 1978–), 9.II, 231–32; Jos Koldewij, Paul Vandebroek, and Bernard Vermet, *Hieronymus Bosch: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 45–47; P. Gerlach, “Bossche architecten ten tijde van Jeroen Bosch,” *Brabants Heem* 22 (1970): 154–62; P. Gerlach, “Het testament van de Bossche bouwmeester Alart DuHameel en Jan Heyns,” *Bossche bijdragen: bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van het Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch* 30 (1970–71): 206–15; C. R. Hermans, “De kunstschilder Hieronymus van Aeken of Bos, en de bouwmeester en plaatsnijder Alard du Hamel,” *Handelingen van het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1861): 60–74.

54 See Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*; and the still useful catalogue by Max Lehrs, “Verzeichniss der Kupferstiche des Alart du Hameel,” *Oud Holland* (1894): 15–25; and Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog der Deutschen, Niederländischen, und Französischen Kupferstiche im XV. Jahrhundert* [1930], 9 vols. (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 7:233–49.

55 Tobias Burg, “Signatures in der frühen Druckgraphik,” in Nicole Hegener, ed., *Künstler Signaturen von der Antike bis zur*

Gegenwart (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013), 284–93, and Burg, *Die Signatur*, 456–59. See also P. Gerlach, “Het huismerk van Alart du Hamel,” *Brabants Heem* 22 (1970): 124.

56 For further discussion of these prints, see cat. 5, 12, and 15, in this volume.

57 Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 9.II.008; Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 244–45, no. 8.

58 Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 119, 156–59, no. 21. On the close connection in production time and style between this drawing and Hameel's lovers by a fountain, Koreny writes (159n10): “Diese Verbindung zu Bosch spricht ebenso wie der Stil des Stiches für seine Entstehung nach 1500.”

59 See my “The Hydraulics of Imagination: Fantastical Fountains in the Drawing Books of Jacopo Bellini,” in Horst Bredekamp, Christiane Kruse, and Pablo Schneider, eds., *Imagination und Repräsentation. Zwei Bildsphären der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2010), 149–60. The words “genitals,” “generation,” and “genius” all have shared etymological origins in the Latin verb *gignere* (“to beget”).

60 Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 9.II.010; Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 247, no. 10; Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ, c. 1270–1600* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 185, fig. 206; Tobias Pfeifer-Helke, et al., *Mit den Gezeiten: frühe Druckgraphik der Niederlande: Katalog der niederländischen Druckgraphik von den Anfängen bis um 1540/50 in der Sammlung des Dresdener Kupferstich-Kabinetts* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2013), 94, 96, no. 11. The *bosche* inscription also does not appear on Hameel's *Apostle Peter* (Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 9.II.003; Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 237, no. 3), which may represent a sculpture designed for the south portico of St. Peter's Church in Leuven.

61 Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 9.II.009; and Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 245–47, no. 9. Hameel's *Monstrance* survives only in two known impressions, preserved in the Rothschild Collection in Paris and the Albertina in Vienna.

62 Max Lehrs, “Über gestochene Vorlagen für gothisches Kirchengeschäft,” *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 6 (1893): col. 65–74; G. de Werd, “Alart DuHameels monstrans-ontwerp voor de Sint Jan te 's-Hertogenbosch (1484–1484),” *Brabantia* 20 (1971): 102–3; A. M. Koldewij, “Goud- en zilvermede te 's-Hertogenbosch,” in Koldewij, ed., *In Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch: De cultuur van late middeleeuwen en renaissance*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Maarssen, 1999), 2:465–72, 608–9, esp. 467–70, fig. 5; Liesbeth M. Helmus, “Drie contracten met zilvermeden,” in *ibid.*, 2:473–81, 609–11, esp. 476; and *Ornemanistes du XVe au XVIIe siècle, gravures et dessins* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1987), 49–50, no. 62.

63 A circa 1880 replica of the monstrance was created on the basis of Hameel's design by Lambert van Ryswyck during the period of Gothic revival in the Netherlands, for which see Jean-Pierre van Rijen, “De kunstreis van het Bernulphusgilde naar de Sint-Jan: Alart du Hamel en Lambert Hezenmans,” in Wim Denslagen, et al., eds., *Bouwkunst: Studies in vriendschap voor Kees Peeters* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Pers, 1993), 427–39.

64 On the phenomenon of microarchitecture circa 1500 and the increasing emphasis on virtuosic invention over the intrinsic value of materials, see Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 165–97.

65 For discussion of the innovation in elevation plans around 1500

as central to the increasing sophistication of microarchitecture, see Timmermann, *Real Presence*, 13–17. There is a striking early instance of an actual sacrament house by Stephan Weyrer in Nördlingen (c. 1511–15) being constructed on the basis of a similar print with canopy design and ground plan, *Gothic Tabernacle* (c. 1475–1500) attributed to Wenzel von Olmütz. See *ibid.*, 140–42, figs. 147–50.

66 Johann Josef Böker, *Architektur der Gotik / Gothic Architecture: Bestandskatalog der weltgrößten Sammlung an gotischen Baurissen (Legat Franz Jäger) im Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien* (Munich: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2005), esp. 97–101, no. 16.828 (including a coat of arms with the mark of the architect, unusual for drawings but played up in Hamel's print); 122–23, no. 16.838; 159–60, no. 16.866; 160–64, no. 16.867; and 352–53, no. 17.038v. See also R. Meischke, "Het architectonische ontwerp in de Nederlanden gedurende de late middeleeuwen en de zestiende eeuw," in G. W. C. van Wessel, ed., *De gotische bouwtraditie: studies over opdrachtgevers en bouwmeesters in de Nederlanden* (Amersfoort: Uitgeverij Bekking, 1988), 127–207, esp. 148, 159, 181, figs. 42–43 (for Hamel's *Monstrance* and *Gothic Canopy*); and for a walk-through of one of these architectural plans, see Kavalier, *Renaissance Gothic*, 183–85.

67 I am very grateful to Ethan Matt Kavalier and Robert Bork for their assistance interpreting this ground plan.

68 The inscription on the opposite side of the monstrance reads as "hameel" to my eye, and according to Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog*, 245, but it is difficult to decipher in either of the two extant impressions.

69 See Kavalier, *Renaissance Gothic*, 96–97; and on the humanistic pursuit of geometry in the sixteenth century, see Timothy J. Reiss, *Knowledge, Discovery and Imagination in Early Modern Europe: The Rise of Aesthetic Rationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. 135–54.

70 For comment on the productive tension in Gothic design between geometry and creativity, see Robert Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); and Paul Binski, "Notes on Artistic Invention in Gothic Europe," *Intellectual History Review* 24.3 (2014): 287–300. See also Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

71 See cat. 12, in this volume.

72 For Halewijn's biography, see Peter G. Bietenholz, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation, Volumes 1–3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 158–59. For the suggestion that Halewijn's writings might prove relevant to reconstructing Bosch's intellectual milieu, see Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness*, 273–74.

73 On Halewijn's literary output, see especially Françoise Fery-Hue, "Une oeuvre inconnue de George D'Halluin: le Livre de toutz langages," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 57 (2008): 115–48.

74 Modern edition of the original Latin in Joris van Halewijn, *Georgii Haloini Cominiique domini De restauratione linguae latinae*, ed. Constant Mattheeussen (Leipzig: Teubner, 1978).

75 Halewijn, *De restauratione*, bk. I, ch. 10, 69: "Aliae multae sunt artes deceptivae ac vero nomine potius lucrativae, quibus ioculatores et alii ingenio sagaces rationum verisimilitudine alios indoctos, minus subtiles ac credulos iam diu ab orbis initio deceperunt, ut alchemia vulgo nominata et divinationum genera plura; inter quae sunt aucupia et auguria...ita et haruspices, extispices, vates, praestigiatores, pyromantici, geomantici,

necromantici, magi et alii multi." Similar statements appear in vernacular and moralizing literature produced in Bosch's Netherlandish milieu, for which see Paul Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch: de verlossing van de wereld* (Ghent: Ludion, 2002), 71.

76 Larry Silver has made a similar point about Gerrit Dou's 1652 painting *Quack* (Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam), in which Dou includes his own self-portrait directly above the false doctor selling his wares. See Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 58.

77 See the small 1523 etching by Dirck Vellert, *Drummer with a Boy* (Hollstein [Vellert, no. 17]) for a provocative use of a hoop to frame a small detail in the background and as a signal for the viewer to look closer; see also Stephen H. Goddard, "Dirck Vellert's Drummer and Child with a Hoop," in Achim Grann and Heinz Widauer, eds., *Festschrift für Konrad Oberhuber* (Milan: Electa, 2000), 262–70.

78 See van Mander, *The Lives*, 1:136–37, fol. 219v for the biography of Herri met de Bles, who was said to have signed his paintings with a little owl.

79 See cat. 11 and extensive discussion of the engraving and preparatory drawing in Matthijs IJssink's essay, in this volume.

80 See especially Giulia Bartrum, Joseph Koerner, et al., *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (London: British Museum, 2002); and, most recently, Andrea Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: The Appropriation of Art, 1528–1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

81 See Bartrum, Koerner, et al., *Dürer and His Legacy*, 82–83, no. 5, where it is proposed that the woodcut is more likely a later sixteenth-century falsification. However, given the scarcity of surviving early impressions, the date of the monogram's first appearance remains inconclusive.

82 Johann Theodor de Bry, *Emblemata saecularia, artificiose et eleganter omnia in aere sculpta, recentique publicata* (Frankfurt: Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry, 1596).

83 Paul Vandenbroeck, "Zur Herkunft und Verwurzelung der 'Grillen': Vom Volksmythos zum Kunst- und literaturtheoretischen Begriff," *De zeventiende eeuw* 3 (1987): 53–84, esp. 63, fig. 15.

84 "Arte mea cerebrum nisi sit sapientia totum."

85 De Bry's cloud of *ingenium* has precedent in earlier sixteenth-century representations of human invention and inventive folly. See, for instance, Peter Flötner's *Allegory of Mathematics and the Mechanical Arts* (1547), as discussed in Alexander Marr, "Walther Ryff, Plagiarism, and Imitation in Sixteenth-Century Germany," *Print Quarterly* 31 (2014): 131–43, esp. 140, fig. 119; and also the various examples mentioned in Vandenbroeck, "Zur Herkunft und Verwurzelung der 'Grillen,'" 54–60.

86 Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 358. Panofsky is quoting from a comment made by a modern translator of Marsilio Ficino, who found himself similarly stumped by the third book of Ficino's treatise *De vita triplici*.



Hieronymus Cock and the Invention of the Print Market in Antwerp

Elizabeth Wyckoff

The engraving known as *The Blue Boat* (cat. 19) is emblematic of the Boschian print phenomenon that blossomed in the Antwerp workshop of Hieronymus Cock beginning in the mid-1550s. The print's inscriptions on the lower left attribute the image to Hieronymus Bosch as its "inventor," and Pieter van der Heyden's monogram credits him as the engraver. On the right, Cock's Latin inscription, "Cock excudebat 1559 cum gratia et privilegio," acknowledges him as the publisher in 1559 with a "privilege," an early form of protection similar to today's copyright. Yet despite the clear reference to Bosch, no drawing or painting of this exact composition survives, and its precise relationship to the famed painter, who by that time had been dead for more than forty years, remains unclear.

Indeed, *The Blue Boat* is an example of the mini-industry Cock built turning out prints attributed to Bosch that followed the success of his issue of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Boschian composition *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (cat. 11). To Cock and his contemporaries, it seems, Bosch represented a particularly appealing and unique aspect of Netherlandish tradition at a time when there was a renewed focus on, and appreciation for, vernacular literature and local traditions in the Netherlands, as there was elsewhere in Europe.¹ Pieter Bruegel, the "new Bosch," was the artist in mid-sixteenth-century Antwerp par excellence whose art teemed with the vernacular, both in his Bosch-inspired devilries and in his exploitation of Netherlandish proverbs, church festivals, and peasant life.

It was during the middle of the sixteenth century that the Netherlandish print market came into its own with particular force in the powerful port city of Antwerp, most impressively in the shop of Hieronymus Cock, Aux Quatre Vents (At the Sign of the Four Winds), where images inspired by Bosch emerged onto the market amid a wide-ranging stock of some 1,600 prints that included everything from engravings after Italian Renaissance paintings to maps and devotional prints.² This was no ordinary time in the history of the Netherlands, or in the history of art. Antwerp had reached its height as a world power, even as that dominance was increasingly threatened by the politics of Habsburg rule, and among other significant changes, the Protestant Reformation was transforming the role of art in society.³ Prints offered a new way to disseminate well-established subjects and ideas, but they also allowed for the formulation of completely new types of visual communication. Answers to questions raised by *The Blue Boat* and the other prints in this exhibition can be found, in part, in the Antwerp print market, and this essay will seek to examine the market's origins and antecedents, as well as Hieronymus Cock's role within it, to provide new insight into the ways in which this early commercial phenomenon conspired to broaden and redefine Bosch's artistic legacy.

The Print as an Art Form in Europe prior to 1550: A Nutshell History

Antwerp's burgeoning print market in the mid-sixteenth century did not arise out of nowhere. The precise origins of printmaking in Europe are obscure, but by the time Hieronymus Bosch was active as a painter in 's-Hertogenbosch in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, rough-hewn woodcuts of saints and religious scenes had been circulating in Europe for about a century, and the invention of engraving, which first emerged in the shops of silver- and goldsmiths, also occurred before he was born.⁴ While these earliest prints dating to the late medieval period were less visually sophisticated than the images in the elaborate and refined illuminated manuscripts that were produced for elite ecclesiastical or noble patrons during the same time, the devotional as well as secular and decorative uses to which the new media were put suggest an at first modest but growing demand for repeatable images that could be produced from a single matrix such as a wood block or copper plate. The phenomenon continued to grow throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and new uses and functions developed, along with new systems of production and distribution.

Woodcuts were the first type of prints to emerge in Europe, and outline woodcut images of individual saints, such as the *St. Christopher* preserved in a manuscript from the Buxheim Monastery (fig. 1), survive from as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁵ As this example demonstrates, these formally rudimentary images were designed to be finished with hand-coloring, suggesting their origins were at least in part linked to manuscript illumination, an idea reinforced by the evidence of early prints found pasted into manuscripts.⁶



Fig. 1. Unknown artist, *St. Christopher*, n.d.
Hand-colored woodcut. John Rylands Library,
University of Manchester

Alongside such woodcuts, a second printmaking technique, engraving on metal plates, emerged in the 1430s.⁷ Many of the earliest engravings that we know of had a secular purpose, as artists' model books or playing cards of the sort that were popular in courtly circles.⁸ Although the early engravers remain largely anonymous, many prints came to be associated with individual artists' hands and particular bodies of work, such as the Master of the Playing Cards, so-named for his printed cards, or Master E. S., the first engraver to include his initials on his plates. Because engraving, and later etching, can in general produce a finer and more nuanced line, they can more easily approximate drawing and painting, and as a result they became the predominant means of what we would now term "fine-art" printmaking. There were, it must be said, several extraordinary

sixteenth-century explorations in woodcut, such as those by Albrecht Dürer, Titian, and Ugo da Carpi, but for the most part, woodcuts tended to remain at the low end of the market and were more functional in their applications.⁹

Prints into Art: Painters and Printmakers

As in any other art, making prints requires specialized knowledge and skills: carving a block of wood or incising a metal plate with a drawing that will be reversed in printing as well as knowing about inks and printing methods, which for engraving required the invention of a roller press—all of these steps take training and expertise.¹⁰ A painter interested in making prints would either need to acquire these skills himself or work closely with a trained printmaker. It is therefore not surprising that Hieronymus Bosch did not involve himself with printmaking; very few other painters of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries did, either.¹¹ Alart du Hameel, Bosch's contemporary and fellow resident of 's-Hertogenbosch, made prints, including prints inspired by Bosch, but as an architect and sculptor, Hameel serves as an example that the earliest printmakers had backgrounds in the applied arts.¹² The first Netherlandish painters to make prints, including Lucas van Leyden, were all from the generation after Bosch.¹³

Two influential German painters, however, whose careers overlapped with Bosch's, did involve themselves extensively with printmaking, and their contributions advanced the medium in significant ways. Before becoming painters, Martin Schongauer (cat. 9a) and Albrecht Dürer both learned to engrave from their fathers, who were goldsmiths, and the two artists each single-handedly produced a large corpus of prints.¹⁴ Their achievement lay in their ability to combine their exceptional skill as draftsmen and painters with commensurate skill in engraving, allowing them to translate their refined draftsmanship into the new medium, building their own reputations and acting as models for younger artists.

The Italian-born painter Andrea Mantegna, working for the Gonzaga dukes in Mantua, also began a deep involvement with printmaking in the late fifteenth century. The literature is divided about whether Mantegna himself actually engraved any plates, but whether or not he ever picked up the burin, the impact of the prints representing his inventions and his drawing style was profound and lasting, as evidenced by the fact that those plates were reprinted again and again.¹⁵ Two documents provide clues to his relationship with engravers, indicating that he specifically contracted two engravers to make prints relating to his work and that he strove to maintain ownership of the engraved copper plates as well.¹⁶ Significantly, Mantegna did keep the plates in the end, as they appear in the inventory of his son Ludovico's estate.¹⁷ This became a model for the painter-printmaker, who could thus exert artistic as well as economic control over his plates and his reputation.

A collaborative model similar to what Mantegna sought began in Rome around 1510–11, when Raphael engaged in an affiliation with the young engraver Marcantonio Raimondi to



Fig. 2. Ugo da Carpi after Parmigianino, *Diogenes*, c. 1524–29. Chiaroscuro woodcut. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Sidney S. and Sadie Cohen Print Purchase Fund 23:1984

make engravings based on the Renaissance master's drawings.¹⁸ Also involved in this partnership was Baviero de' Carocci, known as "il Baviera," a *garzone*, or studio assistant, charged by Raphael with printing the plates and selling the resulting prints.¹⁹ Raphael, like Mantegna, retained ownership of the plates, which were given to il Baviera after Raphael's death in 1520; il Baviera also commissioned and sold new prints as well.²⁰ He is thus cited as the first "print publisher," and although his name never appeared on the plates, it quickly became customary for the next generation of print entrepreneurs to include their name on the plates they issued, frequently followed by some form of the Latin *excudit*, indicating their role as publisher.²¹

In the decades following the deaths of Raphael and Bosch, a new technique that allowed more painters to make prints themselves became widespread,

significantly expanding the possibilities of printmaking. This was etching, which first appeared around 1500 and enabled those not specifically trained in metalworking to more directly put their drawings onto the plate; it remains one of the most versatile and widely used printmaking techniques even today. Among the most distinguished and successful of the early painter-etchers was Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola, known as Parmigianino, who was praised by Giorgio Vasari as the "new Raphael" for the strength of his art as well as for his gracious personality. Like Raphael, Parmigianino worked closely with printmakers who made prints after his designs, including the revolutionary chiaroscuro woodcut *Diogenes* by Ugo da Carpi (fig. 2). Unlike Raphael, however, Parmigianino also picked up the etching needle and produced a small but inventive corpus of etchings, a practice that became increasingly common among succeeding generations of painters.

Da Carpi's *Diogenes* reproduced a composition by Parmigianino, making what we now call a "reproductive print." The use of the term "reproductive," however, is modern, and it warrants some discussion. In the sixteenth century, a print "after" a painter only rarely meant that it reproduced an existing painting. Marcantonio's engravings after Raphael are composed from figure studies by Raphael, to which Marcantonio added architectural or landscape embellishments to turn his engravings into more finished compositions. Likewise, there is no *Diogenes* painting by Parmigianino. Parmigianino would likely have provided a wash drawing to da Carpi, who then produced the four separate tone blocks that were printed one after the other to create the final color (tonal) print. Da Carpi's and Marcantonio's prints reproduce the inventions of Raphael and Parmigianino from the artists' drawings, but they do so by creating new compositions in a new medium, which took on a life and a function beyond the source works.²²

The Boschian prints discussed in this catalogue are similar, in the sense that they do not reproduce known paintings by Bosch. But unlike the prints after Raphael and Parmigianino, these works were produced long after the painter's death and were thus not made with his knowledge or participation. Although some appear to match titles from early inventories of works by Bosch but for which no Bosch original survives, such as *The Blind Leading the Blind* (cat. 17, 18) and *The Bellows Maker* (cat. 26), others take up familiar Boschian themes but have no specific parallel in a known Bosch painting (cat. 7, 8, 12–14). In some instances, we see the same composition depicted with slight variations in paintings and drawings as well as prints, but although the paintings have in the past been considered to be by Bosch himself, such as *The Charlatan* painting in Saint-Germain-en-Laye (cat. 27b), they are now—like the prints—seen as mid-sixteenth-century creations, made decades after Bosch's death.²³ In only one instance is there an analogous drawing that is today considered to be by Bosch that relates directly to the print, *The Tree-Man* (cat. 4, 4a). Thus what is striking about the Boschian revival is the way in which it capitalized on the painter's legacy to create new work in what we might today call the Boschian “brand,” and furthermore that this brand would go on to infiltrate such a wide swath of late-sixteenth-century and even seventeenth-century art in the Netherlands, all to serve a seemingly insatiable demand for a piece of Bosch's imagination, even as the products themselves drifted slowly but surely away from their source.

The Invention of Print Publishing

In contrast to the artist-driven initiatives at printmaking, such as Mantegna's or Raphael's, another model began to emerge—one that would be thoroughly developed by Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp in the mid-sixteenth century. The term “print publishing” (like reproductive print) had not yet been coined, but the basic elements of the concept were present from the earliest stages in the division of labor necessary for producing a print. An artist creates a design; an engraver or woodcutter transfers the design/drawing to the block or plate and carves or engraves it; the matrix is given to a printer; the print is then perhaps hand-colored by another specialized artist or craftsman; and finally the person who orchestrated and financed all of the previous steps, whom we would call the publisher, would market and sell the prints—and retain ownership of the plates.²⁴

By the early sixteenth century, examples of such individuals included the printer Bernardino Benalio, who worked with Titian in Venice (at about the same time Marcantonio and Raphael were collaborating in Rome) to produce large-scale, modular-block compositions that rivaled the scale of the painter's canvases.²⁵ In Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Antwerp, a number of block-cutters who had trained in the circle of Emperor Maximilian also began to issue prints themselves.²⁶

Two Germans, Israhel van Meckenem in Bocholt in the late fifteenth century and Daniel Hopper in Augsburg in the early sixteenth century, were printmaker entrepreneurs who each built up a large and varied stock of plates. Their output was essentially derivative, but even as they typically copied the work of others, they each developed a recognizable style, and they signed

their works prominently. Such “branding” references their brilliance as innovative businessmen, and with their diverse offerings they were precursors to the mid-sixteenth-century printer-publishers such as Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp.²⁷

Ironically, however, even though the printing of images preceded the printing of texts with movable type by a half-century or more, the earliest organized forms of producing, marketing, and selling a diversified stock of printed matter that we could readily identify as publishing arose in the book trades. Antonio Salamanca, a Spanish émigré book printer and dealer in Rome who branched out to sell prints as well, is cited as the first individual who, by 1538, was engraving his name on copper plates as their publisher.²⁸ Salamanca was not himself an engraver, and he mainly acquired second-hand plates, including those of Raphael via il Baviera. Salamanca’s sometime rival, sometime partner, the Frenchman Antoine Lafréry, was, by contrast, an engraver; he started out copying (pirating) Salamanca’s prints before forming a partnership with him in 1553. Lafréry made his own prints, but he also commissioned work from others, adding his name to the plates as their publisher. Whereas Salamanca’s name is on a broad selection of plates, Lafréry is remembered for having created the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, a massive visual inventory of close to a thousand plates depicting Roman monuments, completed between about 1540 and 1570.²⁹ These two models for print production—commissioning plates on the one hand, and buying plates second-hand to reissue them—became the two predominant models for the business, in addition to making new copies from existing models, as Meckenem and Hopfer did.

Hieronymus Cock and Aux Quatre Vents

Antwerp’s rise to prominence began during Bosch’s lifetime, but it was only later that the city would become a leading center of trade with a cultural marketplace on par with Florence, Venice, and Rome.³⁰ Described in 1604 by Karel van Mander as “the Florence of the North” for its fostering of the arts, by the mid-sixteenth century Antwerp was a flourishing cosmopolitan crossroads, with an international population and all manner of trade.³¹ As early as 1460, the city was known for its specialized art market at the Church of Our Lady, and in 1540, the New Exchange provided more opportunities for merchants, including Hieronymus Cock, whose Aux Quatre Vents was nearby.³²

No longer simply devotional imagery to be pasted in manuscripts or distributed at pilgrimage sites, prints had grown into an imminently collectible medium, and the print market also saw a profound transformation, with new, more organized models for production and marketing. Prints were collected for the information they conveyed, be it artistic, religious, scientific, ethnographic, or otherwise. They were displayed on walls, pasted onto furniture or other objects, or organized in albums according to artist or subject matter, as well as put to use as source material by artists and artisans of all kinds.³³ The confluence in Antwerp of a sophisticated and international clientele, a centralized marketplace for artworks, and a robust history of trade and printing that dated back to the fifteenth century all enabled an entrepreneur such as Cock to build a highly successful venture.³⁴

Indeed, Cock, who initiated the mid-century “Bosch revival” with his publication of nearly a dozen prints bearing the name of the Renaissance painter, was among the most successful and influential of the sixteenth-century Flemish print publishers. A talented artist and businessman, Cock published an extraordinary and diverse stock of plates, working with some of the best artists and engravers of his generation while training many of the most successful engravers of the next. His shop, or an idealized version of it, is pictured in a plate from a series of imaginary architectural views, or “perspectives,” by Hans Vredeman de Vries, an artist with whom Cock collaborated extensively (fig. 3). The building sits advantageously on a street corner, with cherubic heads representing the four winds installed above the doors, which are aptly accessible right on the corner.³⁵ Both Cock and his wife, Volcxken Diericx, are visible: he on the threshold at right, she inside at left.

Although Cock was not the first entrepreneur to commission, produce, and sell prints in Antwerp, he was the first in the Netherlands to amass a stock of copper plates that represented a wide variety of prints encompassing many subjects by artists from Italy and the Netherlands. Notable categories of his stock included works that reproduced paintings by Raphael and other Italian Renaissance artists, ornament and architecture prints, as well as landscape prints by Cock himself and other leading Flemish landscape painters. A vital and sustained partnership with Pieter Bruegel the Elder, who provided numerous drawings that were turned into prints, is one of the most distinctive aspects of Cock’s production, but maps, city views, and devotional prints were also an important part of his stock.³⁶ The name of Cock’s shop, “At the Sign of the Four Winds,” suggests considerable ambition, with its implication of having the four winds at its service, and in the course of Cock’s two-decade-long career, it came to reference both the breadth of the publishing house’s output as well as its extensive reach throughout Europe.³⁷

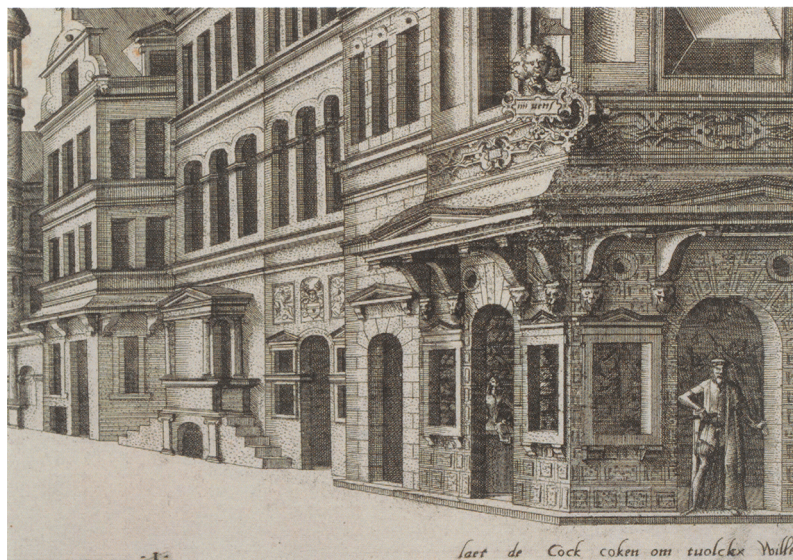


Fig. 3. Joannes van Doetecum and Lucas van Doetecum after Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Imaginary street view* (detail), from *Scenographiae sive perspectivae*, 1560. Etching and engraving. Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels

Cock's early life before his entry into the Saint Luke's Guild in Antwerp in 1546 is undocumented.³⁸ His father was the enigmatic painter traditionally known as Jan Wellens de Cock, and his older brother Matthijs has long been recognized as an influential landscape painter.³⁹ When Cock joined the Antwerp guild, he was listed under the sons of painters; two years later, the first dated series of prints with his address appeared.⁴⁰ He married Volcxken Diericx in 1547, and after he died in October 1570, she carried on the business until her own death in December 1600.⁴¹

Early mentions of Hieronymus Cock in published texts by Lodovico Guicciardini in 1567, Giorgio Vasari in 1568, Dominicus Lampsonius in 1572, and Karel van Mander in 1604 attest to his considerable European reputation.⁴² Van Mander's version of Cock's biography in his *Lives of the Netherlandish Artists* is arguably the most informative of these texts, wherein Cock is characterized as having abandoned his own art in order to sell art by others, which had made him rich but, by implication, deprived the world of his artistic talent.⁴³ No surviving paintings can be attributed to Cock, but he was identified as a painter in documents up to the end of his life.⁴⁴ An etcher, too, his signature appears on numerous etched landscapes, views, and maps.

Volcxken Diericx has been described in the recent literature as an important partner at Aux Quatre Vents, as her presence in de Vries's rendering of the shop would appear to support.⁴⁵ Van Mander wrote that the couple had no children, suggesting that Diericx was able to participate in the business at least in part because she did not have a family to raise. The relatively few new publications initiated by her after Cock's death were by engravers who remain anonymous (cat. 2, 28, 32), and the quality of the engraving in general is less distinguished than the work issued under Cock's name. These works are also distinctively inscribed with the French version of the firm's name, Aux Quatre Vents, whereas prints published prior to Cock's death generally carry his name in some form with or without reference to the name of the shop. Diericx's selective building of the stock in areas where it was already active, including in the production of images in the manner of Bosch, is, however, notable if not groundbreaking.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, her most significant achievement lay in the fact that she continued to maintain and market the plate stock at Aux Quatre Vents for thirty years after her husband's death, despite Antwerp's failing economy during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the departure of Cock's former star engraver, Philips Galle, who went into business for himself. The firm's impressive stock of plates was ultimately dispersed only after Diericx's own death.

Cock's oft-noted sense of humor is evident in the punning inscriptions on some of the prints he issued, including the line engraved on de Vries's view of the Aux Quatre Vents shop: "Laet de cock coken om 't volcxks wille" ("Let the cook do the cooking for the sake of the people"), which can also be read as, "Let Cock do the cooking for Volcxken's sake."⁴⁷ He also produced a more elaborate rebus, a visual puzzle that functioned almost like a modern business card, which spells out the motto "respect the cook" (fig. 4). This allegorical self-portrait appears as the final plate in a series of engraved designs for ornate

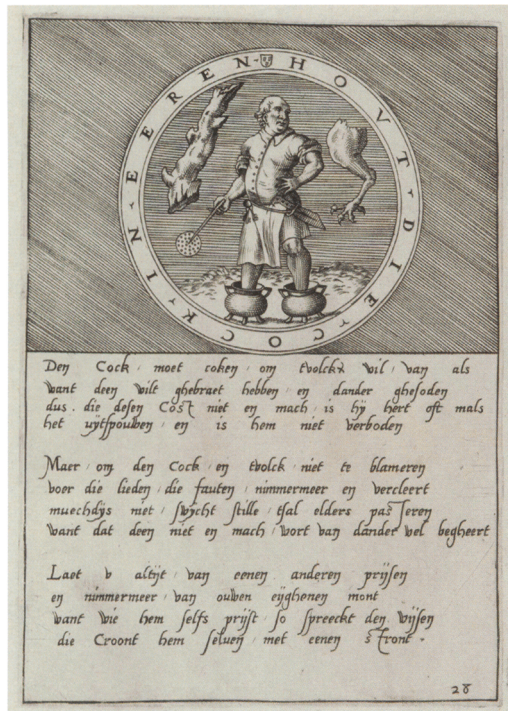


Fig. 4. Attributed to Pieter van der Heyden, *Rebus on "Respect the Cook,"* from the series *Cartouches by Benedictus Battini*, 1553. Engraving. Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels



Fig. 5. Jacob Bos after Cornelius Floris, *Ewer in the Shape of a Snail's Shell, The Spout Formed by a Dog*, from the series *Designs for Decorative Tableware*, 1548. Engraving. Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels

Renaissance frames by the otherwise unknown Benedictus Battini.⁴⁸ Cock's inclusion of the cook (*cock*) who should be respected — "Hout die Cock in eeren" ("Honor thy cook") — is a self-conscious reference to his role in issuing the series. The rebus within a circle in the top register of the plate spells out the phrase in pictures: a cook with a slight paunch stands with each foot in a cooking pot (*eeren*, or "honor," can be construed also as *erijn*, an antiquated word for copper, also a copper pot); to his right is a rough piece of wood (*hout* for "wood," or "hold"); and on his left, a chicken thigh (*dij* for "the/thy"). Thus, "honor thy cook" can also be read as "keep Cock in copper."⁴⁹ The three stanzas of verse begin with the familiar phrase from the etched view of *Aux Quatre Vents* by de Vries, that "the cook must cook to please the people," and continues with further reasoning, "for if one person wants their food baked, the other wants it boiled." The poem goes on to elaborate on the power of individual taste, giving poetic justice to the variety of Cock's stock that "cooks up" a bit of something for everyone.⁵⁰

The breadth of Cock's interests was evident from the very earliest prints to carry his address: a set of vase designs engraved in 1548 after Cornelius Floris, an Antwerp-born sculptor and architect (fig. 5). Cock also issued numerous prints after Cornelius's brother, the Italianate painter Frans Floris, including *The Resurrection* (fig. 6), which was etched by Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum. These prints after the Floris brothers attest to two of Cock's interests that distinguish him as a path-breaking publisher of prints. Both brothers had lived in Rome,



LEFT: Fig. 6. Joannes van Doetecum and Lucas van Doetecum after Frans Floris the Elder, *The Resurrection*, 1557. Etching and engraving. Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels

ABOVE: Fig. 7. Cornelis Cort after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Triumph of War*, 1564. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

and prints from Italian and Italianate models were a vital part of Cock's early publications, including an engraving after Raphael by Giorgio Ghisi, one of very few Italian artists active in Antwerp, and Cock's own etched views of Roman ruins. He also fostered the subject of ornament designs as an important specialty for prints, and in addition, he published them in series. Prints in series, on many subjects, became a distinctive element of the Antwerp print market, with Cock as a leader in this development.⁵¹

Cock's intensive focus on the decorative arts (ornament) and Italian art only just begins to hint at the multitude of directions he took his business. About 1,200 prints survive carrying inscriptions with either Cock's name or "Aux Quatre Vents," and these include most of the subjects generally associated with printmaking, from fine arts to cartography.⁵² Ample art-historical attention has been paid to Cock's alliances with the painters Maarten van Heemskerck and Pieter Bruegel the Elder, representing, respectively, the Italianate and vernacular strains of Netherlandish art at the time. Bruegel forged a local tradition that was in part rooted in the art of his northern predecessors, including Bosch, and he was called a "new Bosch" in large part because of the prints he produced for Cock, most notably *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*.⁵³ Heemskerck was among the first generation of Netherlandish painters who traveled to Rome, and his many designs for moralizing print series that demonstrate his knowledge of Italian and ancient art are abundant evidence of this trend (fig. 7).⁵⁴ These two men were among the most innovative artists of their time, and Cock's genius was not only to make their work more available through his publication of it but, more importantly, to have provided the venue for them to create work in a new format that they would not otherwise have made: the print series.

Cock may or may not have traveled to Italy himself, but either way, the list of prints he published demonstrates his sustained interest in Italian landscape views and antiquities as well as modern (Renaissance) Italian art.⁵⁵ He surely knew the Roman print publishers Salamanca and Lafréry, by reputation if not personally. When Cock started publishing prints in Antwerp in 1548, Salamanca had been affixing his name to printing plates for at least a decade, and Lafréry had been doing so since 1540. It is tempting to believe that Cock went to Italy at the start of his career, based on the quantity and quality of Italian and Italianate art he published, but more concretely because of his association with the Mantuan engraver Giorgio Ghisi. Ghisi lived for a time in Antwerp, where he registered in the Saint Luke's Guild in 1549, and Cock published five ambitious engravings by him between 1550 and 1555.⁵⁶

Ghisi was already an accomplished engraver when he arrived in Antwerp. His prints published by Cock include two double-plate engravings that faithfully reproduce paintings by prominent sixteenth-century Italian painters.⁵⁷ The earliest of these is *The School of Athens* (fig. 8), which reproduces Raphael's fresco in the Vatican; the other is *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 9), which reproduces—in actual size—the main elements of a panel painting by Agnolo Bronzino. Both engravings differ in various particulars from their models, demonstrating the challenges faced by an engraver in transposing a work from one medium to another, a task that required the use of black-and-white linear patterns to produce a translation of the original that conveys its essential information but, by its nature, not all of its details verbatim.



Fig. 8. Giorgio Ghisi after Raphael, *The School of Athens*, 1550. Engraving printed from two plates. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 9. Giorgio Ghisi, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1553. Engraving printed from two plates. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Sidney S. and Sadie Cohen Print Purchase Fund 95:1982



Fig. 10. Hieronymus Cock after Maarten van Heemskerck, *St. Jerome in a Landscape with Classical Ruins*, 1552. Etching. Saint Louis Art Museum, Funds given by Mr. Christian B. Peper 222:1995

Among Cock's print series are several notable sets of landscape prints, starting with his own views of Roman ruins from 1552 (fig. 10) as well as Bruegel's *Large Landscapes* (1559) and the unattributed series of twenty-six landscape etchings known as *The Small Landscapes* (1561).⁵⁸ These latter prints, which show the nearby Flemish and Brabantine countryside, were among the earliest Netherlandish landscapes with such a deliberately local focus, and they had an extraordinary afterlife and influence into the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ This series can be linked with the Boschian prints for its localized focus, but such native specificity was but one aspect of Cock's diverse business. As the mix of Roman, alpine, and Flemish landscapes within Cock's stock attests, his was an international outlook with an emphasis on distinct artistic traditions.

A Collaborative Enterprise

Cock's business was a profoundly collaborative one, itself a constant theme in the history of printmaking, but Cock expanded his collaborative enterprise in new directions. He produced work after artists who were no longer living, such as Raphael and Rogier van der Weyden, and for those Cock's engravers would have needed drawings of the original models to work from. It is speculated, for example, that Giorgio Ghisi may have brought his own drawings with him to Antwerp in order to engrave *The School of Athens* and other Italian works. But one of the things that made Cock a real innovator was the fact that he commissioned drawings directly from living artists such as Bruegel and Heemskerck, along with many others. These



Fig. 11. Cornelis Cort after Rogier van der Weyden, *The Descent from the Cross*, 1565. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

drawings, such as Bruegel's design for *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, were produced specifically for the purpose of being made into prints, and Cock handed them over to professional printmakers to be engraved. What is most distinctive about this is that through these collaborations with the most successful artists of his time, Cock (and a handful of his contemporaries) was in effect creating a brand-new idiom for visual expression, that of the print, either individually, such as *Big Fish*, or often distinctively in series intended to convey a story, a moral, or an allegory.

Although he was himself an etcher, Cock clearly had to engage other engravers and etchers in order to produce the volume and variety of stock that he accumulated during his twenty-some years in business. He worked with several printmakers, whose diverse styles and backgrounds are evident in the vast list of prints he published.⁶⁰ A few patterns suggest an affinity between a given engraver or etcher and a particular artist, such as Pieter van der Heyden's engravings of the work of Bruegel. Van der Heyden started with Cock in 1551 and continued at Aux Quatre Vents into the 1570s after Cock's death. He produced many of the prints after Bruegel, including *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* and *The Seven Deadly Sins* (cat. 16b, 20b), and in the manner of Bosch as well, including *The Blue Boat* and *The Blind Leading the Blind*, but he also worked after Italianate artists such as Lambert Lombard. It is often noted that his somewhat literal linear style was especially well-suited to capturing Bruegel's meticulous drawings, which provided all the details necessary to transpose them into engravings.⁶¹

Cornelis Cort, an ambitious and internationally successful engraver, also worked with Cock, from about 1552 to 1565.⁶² Although his engravings for Cock early in his career are largely

after Italianate painters, his 1565 engraving reproducing van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 11) demonstrates his versatility at translating the tonal qualities of a painting into the limited palette of engraving.⁶³ He did not attempt to mimic the rich patterns in the figures' robes, for example, instead focusing on the overall sculptural quality of the drapery. His addition of a landscape background not present in the original painting would seem to have updated the composition for a sixteenth-century audience who recognized landscape as a Flemish specialty. Cort later moved to Italy, where he worked with Titian, Giulio Romano, Federico and Taddeo Zuccaro, along with other painters in Venice and Rome, and the talent he honed in Cock's shop served him well, as he was widely praised in his time for creating an expressive linear syntax in his engravings that successfully mimicked the tonal effects of those artists' paintings.

The van Doetecum brothers, Joannes and Lucas, who made several of the Boschian prints and were active with Cock from 1559, developed a unique way to fuse etching and engraving that combined the fluidity of the etched line with the sculptural structure of engraving to produce a more atmospheric quality, with a softer but still controlled effect.⁶⁴ This can be seen in the brothers' *Besieged Elephant* after Alart du Hameel (cat. 16) as well as in two Boschian prints of saints in this catalogue (cat. 7, 8). It has thus far proved impossible to separate the brothers' individual contributions in their prints, hence their names appear together as the prints' co-authors.

It was Philips Galle who was arguably Cock's most able engraver and who would ultimately emerge as the successor to his legacy, even though he did not inherit Cock's business. Galle worked for Cock between about 1557 and 1563 while he was still living in Haarlem, where he eventually started publishing prints on his own; only after Cock's death did he establish himself in Antwerp. His business matched Cock's in ambition and diversity, even as it developed a clear "house style" based on his own approach to engraving: a tightly scripted system of closely hatched lines that produced an even-handed overall tone. Galle's widow, son, and grandson kept up the family publishing business after Philips's death in 1612, much as Volcxken Diericx did with Aux Quatre Vents, but similarly, the younger Galles became increasingly focused on disseminating the successes of the first generation rather than building new stock. The Galle *Speculum diversarum imaginum speculativarum* (cat. 33), published more than a quarter century after Philips Galle's death, is evidence of the long-lived use the Galle family got out of their stock of copper plates, many of them acquired from other publishers, including Aux Quatre Vents upon Diericx's death.

Hieronymus Cock, Aux Quatre Vents, and the Legacy of Bosch

Sixteen prints issued by Cock and his widow have, over the years, been connected with the Renaissance painter Hieronymus Bosch, only a tiny portion of the shop's full stock—a mere one percent if you count the inventory of 1,600 listed in Diericx's estate.⁶⁵ Why, then, would Lodovico Guicciardini focus on this small percentage when he described Cock as "an original artist who published many prints after the work of Hieronymus Bosch and other famous painters"?⁶⁶

Guicciardini's brief mention of Cock appears in his lengthy description of Antwerp and is important for a variety of reasons, not least because Cock is the only print publisher he mentions in a city overflowing with print shops. It tells us that Cock's business was dominant, and that he was publishing prints after renowned painters, thus characterizing Cock as an art printer.⁶⁷ Singling out Bosch rather than, for example, Raphael seems striking today, but it is a demonstration of the enduring, even growing power of Bosch's name in the mid-sixteenth century. It is all the more striking that Bosch's work alone among the early Netherlandish painters was met with a profusion of prints in 1550s Antwerp. This strongly supports the notion that the roots of the Boschian print phenomenon lay in Bosch's unusual powers of invention in tandem with his flourishing posthumous reputation, which then fortuitously coincided with the birth of the commercial print industry in Antwerp at the height of the city's power.

Cock's Boschian prints are in a category of their own, even as they bear a unique relationship to two patterns within his stock. The first encompasses those engravings that reproduce specific paintings by earlier artists such as Raphael, Bronzino, and van der Weyden; the second, the drawings he commissioned from living artists, which were specifically designed to be engraved. The Boschian prints fit *neither* category since they reproduce neither known works by Bosch nor do any attributable drawings survive for any of them, with the exception of Bruegel's drawing for *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*. Instead, these prints are new and, as far as we know, anonymously created adaptations of themes and motifs found in Bosch's work, and thus they are distinctively mid-sixteenth-century creations. Also, notably, unlike Cock's established pattern with contemporaries such as Bruegel or Heemskerck, the Boschian prints appear only singly, never in series, which emphasizes that the phenomenon of print series was not only relatively new, but it was exclusively the product of a live collaboration between artist and publisher.

These Boschian prints issued by Cock and, later, his widow include four Christian themes (cat. 7, 8, 10, 14); the enigmatic *Besieged Elephant* (cat. 16); three proverbial subjects, including *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (cat. 11, 17, 32); and eleven depictions that all deal loosely with the folly of man, some of which can be connected to the Christian celebrations of Carnival and Lent and other vernacular traditions (cat. 2, 11, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 28, 32).⁶⁸ Although most of the prints in the first two groups, as well as *Big Fish*, contain the fiendish hybrid creatures so often associated with Bosch, the others notably do not. These latter prints seem to anticipate seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting and its naturalistic-seeming representations of life's pleasures and their resulting spiritual dangers, creating an uneasy genealogical thread between the early Renaissance painter Bosch and the likes of Willem Buytewech and Jan Steen in the seventeenth century.⁶⁹

Whereas the success of Cock's Boschian output derived from its exploitation of the distinct style that had caused Bosch such acclaim during his lifetime, the prints relating to Bosch likewise served to diversify and popularize Cock's stock, balancing, for example, the twenty-two works after earlier Italian masters that celebrated trends in Italian painting with prints

that emphasized the Netherlandish tradition, a task for which Bruegel was a perfect accomplice.⁷⁰ In addition to being a manifestation of local pride, however, this emphasis on Netherlandish culture can also be viewed through a political lens, given the state of current events in the Habsburg Netherlands in the 1550s and 1560s. A small group of the Boschian prints, including Bruegel's *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* and three Carnival-themed prints (cat. 19, 20, 23), not only explore local traditions but also arguably have topical associations with the Protestant Reformation and its political implications in Antwerp, in part because they are specifically dated by Cock in the plates between 1557 and 1567.⁷¹ As such, they relate to Bruegel's prints and paintings of the 1550s and 1560s that depict peasant festivities, including Carnival and the annual popular church feasts known as kermises, which themselves recall earlier and equally bawdy German prints of peasants at church festivals by Sebald Beham and his contemporaries in 1520s and 1530s Nuremberg.⁷²

The Nuremberg prints participated in the political, social, and religious climate of their time, and surely the Antwerp prints did as well within their own context. Despite considerable dissatisfaction among the people of the Netherlands with the increasingly intrusive Spanish Habsburg rule after Philip II assumed control of the Netherlands from Charles V in 1555, openly critical images and texts are all but nonexistent in Antwerp, the result of strict censorship that made violation a capital offense. It might be argued, therefore, that the prominent dating of these Carnival prints during the tumultuous 1550s and 1560s suggests that in addition to their ethnographic focus, they also respond, however subtly, to this time of building unrest, in which growing Protestant sympathies as well as the right to self-rule were being suppressed and censored, tensions that would soon lead to the great Iconoclasm of 1566 and, shortly thereafter, to the Dutch Revolt (1568–1648). This ultimately resulted in the demise of Antwerp as a world power and the separation of the northern and southern provinces into what would eventually become modern-day Belgium and the Netherlands.⁷³

As other scholars have pointed out, Carnival, with the topsy-turvy world at its core, was a particularly suitable means for addressing the fundamental changes that the Reformation was seeking to bring about, enabling a critical apparatus to function “safely” within a social format that was, by its very definition, an inversion of morals.⁷⁴ Crediting Bosch as the “inventor” of these scenes might likewise have functioned to temper any potential criticism by placing the action retrospectively in the past. Indeed, given Bosch's elevated reputation among not only Netherlanders but also Spaniards—conspicuously including Philip II and the Duke of Alva, both of whom coveted and collected his work—Bosch would seem to have been the ideal choice for Cock, ever the businessman, to please all sides.⁷⁵

Although Cock was on the vanguard of publishing Boschian prints, others issued them as well.⁷⁶ The fact that two of those prints not issued by Cock, *The Conjuror* (or *Charlatan*) (cat. 27) and *The Bellows Maker*, survive in multiple painted and/or drawn versions by Bosch followers provides further evidence of the success of the mid-century Boschian revival. The survival of multiple versions of the same subject in prints, drawings, and paintings, all produced in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, attests as much to the popularity of

the subjects and their inspiration in Bosch as to the burgeoning Antwerp art market, where modestly scaled works in all subjects and media were put on offer to an international clientele. This was also the climate in which Cock began issuing his own versions of newly minted Boschian imagery, and can be seen as another element of inspiration for his business.

Afterlife: Boschian Prints in Two Important European Print Collections

Prints have always had, and continue to have, a wide variety of uses, and some prints—as is still the case with popular printed matter today—were intended to be used and thrown away. For the first century of printmaking in Europe, almost all of the prints made were meant for such ephemeral uses, generally devotional or decorative, and they were eventually discarded or replaced. They were simply not considered valuable beyond their immediate use, and their high rate of loss is reinforced by the earliest writings on the history of prints from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which did not acknowledge that fifteenth-century woodcuts of saints even existed.⁷⁷

The collecting of prints and drawings was in its infancy in 1568 when Giorgio Vasari wrote the first history of printmaking for the second edition of his *Lives of the Artists*, perhaps not coincidentally during the period when the print publishing industry was coming into its own.⁷⁸ By then, the availability of prints old and new by the likes of Lafréry in Rome and Cock in Antwerp was immense and varied, ranging from unsigned devotional prints, maps, and city views to complex allegorical series with Christian and humanist themes by the most accomplished artists of the day.

Early collections of prints tended to be organized in albums by subject. These print albums formed part of libraries within universal collections of natural and manmade objects called *Kunst-* or *Wunderkammer*, which stand at the beginning of modern collections of art and natural history. The print albums in these collections were encyclopedic by nature, with subjects ranging from Christian themes to ancient and modern history, geography, and the history of art. A handful of these early print libraries from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries survive today, providing a glimpse into how the Boschian prints published by Cock and Aux Quatre Vents were seen in their time.

Two collections, one from the sixteenth century and one from the seventeenth, offer illuminating examples of how varied these collections could be. The first is the collection of the Spanish Habsburg king Philip II, one of just two sixteenth-century print collections that survive intact.⁷⁹ The other is the seventeenth-century collection of Michel de Marolles, which later formed the basis of the print collection at France's Bibliothèque Nationale. Separated by a century as well as national and philosophical differences, the placement of the Boschian prints within both collections is telling.

Philip II is important in this context not only for the significance of his print collection and for his avid collecting of several of Bosch's greatest paintings, including *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, but also for his stern and insular hand in ruling the Netherlands.⁸⁰ It was, as noted above, his strict rule that precipitated the Dutch Revolt, also known as the Eighty Years War.⁸¹ Philip II's print albums are still housed at the Escorial, the gargantuan monastery that he built in the mountains outside Madrid. The collection numbers almost 7,000 prints, pasted into thirty-six albums, and it was assembled under the direction of Philip's librarian, the scholar, poet, and linguist Benito Arias Montano.⁸² The prints are broadly representative of the state of European printmaking in the mid-sixteenth century, and there are notable works by the likes of Dürer and Mantegna, as well as a large number of Netherlandish prints.

The importance of the latter in the collection is indicative of the quality of the collection of the whole, but they also surely reflect Montano's years spent in Antwerp, where he worked with printer Christophe Plantin on a polyglot Bible sponsored by Philip II. Montano also contributed verses to numerous print series and was thus clearly well acquainted with all aspects of the Antwerp print trade in those years.⁸³ One of these albums contains a grouping of about a dozen prints after Bosch and Bruegel together, including *The Blind Leading the Blind*, *The Blue Boat*, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, *Foul Sauce* (or *Eaters of Sausage and Fat*) (cat. 22), and *Shrove Tuesday* (cat. 23).⁸⁴ These are followed by further allegories and mythological subjects, suggesting that, within a monastery library, the Netherlandish prints' warnings about worldly excesses and folly fit into the category of prints with a moralizing and educational spirit. In another album, however, *The Dinner Party* (or *Song of the Gluttons*) (cat. 21) appears more or less on its own among scenes and series from the Old and New Testaments.⁸⁵ A thorough study of how this can be read is outside the parameters here, but the general message is that in the Catholic context of Philip II's Escorial, a satirical scene of Carnival revelers was apparently at home with the Biblical stories that themselves provided the backdrop for everyday life in the devout Christian world.

In seventeenth-century Paris, on the other hand, Marolles's collection, which he began assembling in the 1640s and sold in 1667, reflected a completely different framing of the Boschian prints. His 1666 catalogue of the collection lists a series of 116 prints after Bruegel and Bosch, among the other listings of works categorized by artist (i.e., the history of art). A number of Boschian prints were also, however, included in another section as well, in a three-volume set entitled *Recueil de pièces facétieuses et bouffonnes* (*Collection of Facetious and Comical Prints*). This collection numbered 1,034 prints, a small fraction of the 123,000 prints in Marolles's 520 volumes that would become the foundation of the French royal collection, and it is notable that he insisted on this group as a distinct subject. Here prints such as *The Blue Boat*, *Shrove Tuesday*, and *The Bellows Maker* are among the prints he referred to as "proverbs which have not been forgotten here, nor the many comical adventures, because I did not want to neglect anything of this sort of curiosity."⁸⁶

These encyclopedic collections of prints, one in a sixteenth-century Catholic monastery and the other destined for the French national collection a century later, provide a sense of the print market in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They also provide clues to the role played by Cock's Boschian creations within that market. The prints specifically linked to Bosch are relatively few, but one can add Bruegel's Bosch-inspired inventions as well as many others that derive, however distantly, from Bosch and other painters who rode the wave of his popularity. We can see this in Marolles's "facetious" albums, where the publications of Cock and his contemporaries are mixed in with many copies and updated French adaptations of similar themes, including Jaspar Isaac's copy of Cock's *Shrove Tuesday* engraving of 1567 (cat. 24).

Thanks to Cock's artistically and commercially brilliant enterprise, Bosch's legacy was burnished in Antwerp and spread throughout Europe at an unprecedented rate and volume, with Boschian prints making their way into the most important collections in Europe. Netherlandish artists such as Bruegel could spin off their own careers by competing with, and surpassing, their astounding predecessor, while unnamed others repeated Bosch's themes, adapting and updating them for their contemporaries (with varying degrees of success). These Boschian artifacts inspired new generations of artists, printmakers, and publishers, at least into the seventeenth century, and today they provide an illuminating view into the uses and abuses of prints in the building of artistic legacies at a seminal point in the history of the development of the print medium.

Notes

- 1 Walter S. Gibson, *Figures of Speech: Picturing Proverbs in Renaissance Netherlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 1–17; Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Mark Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002); Mark Meadow and Anneke C. G. Fleurkens, et al., *Symon Andriessoon, Druytsche Adagia ofte Spreecwoorden* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2003); and Margaret D. Carroll, *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe: Van Eyck, Bruegel, Rubens, and Their Contemporaries* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).
- 2 Joris van Grieken, Ger Luijten, and Jan van der Stock, eds., *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, with Mercatorfonds, 2013), 25.
- 3 David Freedberg, "Aertsen, Heemskerck en de crisis van de kunst in de Nederlanden," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 35 (1987): 224–41; Robert Scribner, "Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-down," *Social History* 3 (1978): 303–29; and Margaret D. Carroll, "Breaking Bonds: Marriage and Community in Bruegel's *Netherlandish Proverbs* and *Carnival and Lent*," in *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe*, 28–63.
- 4 David Landau and Peter W. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print. 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 15–21; and Peter W. Parshall and Rainer Schoch, eds., *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, with Yale University Press, 2005).
- 5 Regarding survival rates in early woodcuts, see Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking*, 19. The *St. Christopher* at Buxheim bears the date 1423, although it is uncertain whether that refers to its date of origin or some other, possibly retrospective reference. *Ibid.*, 153–56.
- 6 Peter Schmidt, *Gedruckte Bilder in Handgeschriebenen Büchern: Zum Gebrauch von Druckgraphik im 15. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2003).
- 7 Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 3–4; Sandra Hindman and James Douglas Farquhar, *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*, exh. cat. (College Park: University of Maryland Press, 1977); Jan Piet Filedt-Kok, *Livelier than Life: The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, or, the Housebook Master, ca. 1470–1500* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); and Ad Stijnman, *Engraving & Etching 1400–2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes* (London: Archetype, 2012): 23–74.
- 8 Anne H. Van Buren and Sheila Edmunds, "Playing Cards and Manuscripts: Some Widely Disseminated Fifteenth-Century Model Sheets," *The Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): 12–30.
- 9 Woodcuts played almost no role in the Boschian print phenomenon; Lafond lists only three woodcuts with a tenuous connection to Bosch (one of which is "unlocated"). Paul Lafond, *The Prints of Hieronymus Bosch* [1914], ed. and trans. Susan Fargo Gilchrist (San Francisco: Alan Wofsky Fine Arts, 2002), 129–32.
- 10 Regarding the roller press, see Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching*, 287–88.
- 11 Gerhard Langemeyer and Reinhart Schleier, *Bilder nach Bildern: Druckgrafik und die Vermittlung von Kunst*, exh. cat. (Münster: Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe, 1976). For discussion of the circulation and proliferation of painted "copies" during this period, see Larry Silver, "Second Bosch: Family Resemblance and the Marketing of Art," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999): 31–56.
- 12 For sources on prints originating in applied arts, see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 1; Richard S. Field, "The Early Woodcut: The Known and the Unknown," in Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking*, 21; and my "Matrix, Mark, Syntax: A Historical View of Printmaking in Relation to Its Techniques," in David Platzker and Elizabeth Wyckoff, *Hard Pressed: 600 Years of Prints and Process*, exh. cat. (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2000), 13–25. Up until the nineteenth century, it was assumed that the prints by Hameel were executed by Bosch himself. See Wilhelm Schmidt, "Aeken," in Julius Meyer, ed., *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1872); and Paul Lafond, *Hieronymus Bosch: Son art, son influence, ses disciples* (Brussels and Paris: Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, G. van Oest & Cie, 1914).
- 13 For a concise discussion of early painter-printmakers in the Netherlands, as well as the influence of Dürer, see Nadine Orenstein, "Gossart and Printmaking," in Maryan W. Ainsworth, ed., *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance. The Complete Works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 105–12.
- 14 Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), 15; and Jane Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 21.
- 15 David Landau, "Mantegna as Printmaker," and Suzanne Boorsch, "Mantegna and His Printmakers," in Jane Martineau, ed., *Andrea Mantegna, 1431–1506*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 44–54, 56–66. Landau and Parshall assume Mantegna did engrave, and the earliest prints date from the 1460s, which suggests they precede Schongauer's engravings. Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 65ff. For a survey of opinions about whether Mantegna made engravings himself, see Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 17 and 167n9; and Sharon Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 48n33.
- 16 Publication of Martineau's *Andrea Mantegna* was the watershed event in the arguments about Mantegna's authorship of engravings. Boorsch, "Mantegna and His Printmakers," 48. Other documents have been found since: see Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker*, 166n20; Andrea Canova, "Gian Marco Cavalli incisore per Andrea Mantegna e altre notizie sull'orificeria e la tipografia a Mantova nel XV secolo," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 42 (2001): 149–79; and Stijnman, *Engraving & Etching*, 77.
- 17 Rodolfo Signorini, "New Findings about Andreas Mantegna: His Son Ludovico's Post-Mortem Inventory (1510)," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 105.
- 18 Approximately fifty of Marcantonio's some 250 prints relate to drawings by Raphael; other printmakers likewise produced prints based on Raphael's designs, including Marco Dente.
- 19 Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004): 67–94; and Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print*, 22–23.

- 20 Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 72, 149, and 186n31.
- 21 For discussion of a possible graphic sign for il Baviera's signature on the plates he was involved with, see *ibid.*, 69–73.
- 22 Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 120–46; Lincoln, *The Invention of the Renaissance Printmaker*, 1–15; Rebecca Zorach and Elizabeth Rodini, *Paper Museums: The Reproductive Print in Europe, 1500–1800* (Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago, 2005), 1–29; and Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550–1620*, exh. cat. (London: The British Museum, 2001), 10–11.
- 23 See *The Bellows Maker* (cat. 26) for a painting of the same composition as the print.
- 24 Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 7–32; and Bury, *The Print in Italy*, 13–46. Of course a single individual might accomplish several or even all of the above tasks.
- 25 His earliest woodcut dates to about 1510–11, and the blocks were later printed in Ghent, attesting to the international appeal and distribution of prints throughout Europe. David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: The International Exhibitions Foundation, 1976), 19, 37; Michel Laclotte, Giovanna Nepi Sciré, and Alessandro Ballarin, et al., *Le Siècle de Titien: l'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), 474; and Larry Silver and Elizabeth Wyckoff, *Grand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, 2008).
- 26 On the start of print publishing in northern Europe, see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 211–31. See also Gregory Jecman and Freyda Spira, *Imperial Augsburg: Renaissance Prints and Drawings, 1475–1540*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, with Lund Humphries, 2012), 76–80.
- 27 On Meckenem, see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 57–63; on Hopfer, see Freyda Spira, “Originality as Repetition / Repetition as Originality: Daniel Hopfer (c. 1470–1536) and the Reinvention of the Medium of Etching” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2006); and my “Daniel Hopfer, The Peasant Feast (ca. 1533–36),” <http://kemperartmuseum.wustl.edu/SpotlightDEC12.pdf>.
- 28 Christian Huelsen, *Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae des Antonio Lafreri* (Munich: Jacques Rosenthal, 1921); Paolo Bellini, “Printmakers and Dealers in Italy during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Print Collector* 13 (1975): 17–45; Valeria Pagani, “Documents on Antonio Salamanca,” *Print Quarterly* 17 (2000): 148–55; Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 302ff.; and Bury, *The Print in Italy*, 121–33. It should be acknowledged that even among the earliest woodcuts in Germany, a printer's name is occasionally present. See Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking*, cat. 70, 80.
- 29 Huelsen, *Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*; Rebecca Zorach, ed., *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum romanae magnificentiae*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago, 2008).
- 30 Jan van der Stock, et al., *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis (16th–17th Century)*, exh. cat. (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1993); and Elizabeth A. Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
- 31 Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem: Hans Passchiers van Wesbusch, 1604). In “The lives of Matthijs and Jeroon Kock, painters of Antwerp,” van Mander wrote that their city “resembles a mother of artists, just as Florence in Italy used to be.” Hessel Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the First Edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–1604)*, trans. D. Cook-Radmore, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994–99): 1:186.
- 32 Dan Ewing, “Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460–1560: Our Lady's Pand,” *The Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 558–84; and Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Antwerp*. On Cock's presence near the Nieuwe Beurs rather than near the Our Lady's Pand, where most printers were located, see van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*, 69.
- 33 Regarding the use of prints decorating furniture and objects, see Jan van der Waals, *Van kunst tot kastpapier; prenten in de Gouden Eeuw* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen, 2003). Van der Waals documents the seventeenth century, but the practice was already well in place in the sixteenth century. See Alison Stewart, “Woodcuts as Wallpaper: Sebald Beham and Large Prints from Nuremberg,” in Silver and Wyckoff, *Grand Scale*, 73–84.
- 34 Ewing, “Marketing Art in Antwerp”; and Craig Harbison, *The Mirror of the Artist: Northern Renaissance Art in Its Historical Context* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1995), 68. On the history of the printing trades in Antwerp, see van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*; and Peter Burke, “Antwerp, a Metropolis in Europe,” in van der Stock, et al., *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, 54.
- 35 Lydia de Pauw-De Veen, “Archivalische gegevens over Volcxken Diericx, weduwe van Hieronymus Cock,” in Karel Gerard Boon, ed., *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de grafische kunst opgedragen aan Prof. Dr. Louis Lebeere ter gelegenheid van zijn tachtigste verjaardag* (Antwerp: Vereniging van de Antwerpsche Bibliophielen, 1975), 219. De Pauw-De Veen verifies that the house was a corner address: “called the four winds standing on the corner of the long new street and the ‘catteveste’” (“genaempt de vier winden staende opten hoek vander langer nyewe straten en vander catteveste”).
- 36 Timothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds* (New York: Garland, 1977); and van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*. Both constitute the best surveys of Cock's output to date.
- 37 For evidence of Cock's prints being sold in Italy and specifically via the Giunti publishing family in Florence, see Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print*, 42 and 60n203.
- 38 He was probably born in 1517/18 based on his age as given in archival documents. Van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 17.
- 39 Modern sources for Cock's life are Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, esp. 27–42; and van der Stock, “Hieronymus Cock and Volcxken Diericx: Print Publishers in Antwerp,” in van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 14–21. The latter text includes significant updated information from the archives. For more on Jan Wellens de Cock, see cat. 6, in this volume. Note that Cock is referred to in the documents as Hieronymus Wellens “alias Cocq,” like his father.
- 40 Van Mander also noted that Cock dealt in paintings, but again, there is no documentary evidence of that activity. See van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 15–16.

41 Regarding the marriage of Cock and Diericx, see van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 17; De Pauw-De Veen, "Archivalische gegevens over Volcxken Diericx, weduwe van Hieronymus Cock," 215–47; and Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*.

42 Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di M. Lodovico Guicciardini partritto fiorentino, di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore* (Antwerp: Willem Sylvius, 1567); Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere, with an introduction and notes by David Ekserdjian, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1996); Dominicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celeberrimorum Germaniae inferioris effigies* (Antwerp: the widow of Hieronymus Cock, 1572); and Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem: Hans Passchiers van Wesbusch, 1604).

43 Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, 186; discussed in Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*; and van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*.

44 For example, in the will drawn up for him and his wife on October 25, 1569, see De Pauw-De Veen, "Archivalische gegevens over Volcxken Diericx," 234. See also van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*; and van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*.

45 Van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*, 145; and van der Stock, "Hieronymus Cock and Volcxken Diericx," 4–19.

46 Van der Stock, "Hieronymus Cock and Volcxken Diericx," 14–19; and Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, 44–45.

47 Van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 17, cat. 3, 4. For more on rhetoricians, see Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, 31; and also Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 426–46; Gibson, *Figures of Speech*; and Meadow, *Peter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs*.

48 For discussion about this artist's identity (or perhaps lack of any artist by that name), see Peter Fuhling, "Hieronymus Cock and the Impact of His Published Architectural and Ornamental Prints," in van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 284–87, cat. 77.

49 I am indebted for this interpretation to van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 78.

50 "Den Cock moet coken om tvolckx wil van als / want deen wilt ghebraet hebben en dander ghesoden / dus die desen cost niet en mach is hij hert oft mals / het uijtspuwen en is hem niet verboden. // Maer om den cock en tvolck niet te blameren / voer die lieden die fauten nimmermeer en vercleert / muedhij's niet swijcht stille tsal elders passeren / want dat deen niet en mach wort van dander wel begheert. // Laet u altijt van eenen anderen prijsen / en nimmermeer van ouwen eijghenen mont / want wie hem selfs prijs so spreekt den wijsen / die croont hem selven meet eenen stront." For further discussion of Cock's "supermarket," see Matthijs IJlinsk, "Big Fish Eat Little Fish: Looking at a Potent(ial) Image and Its Offspring," in this volume.

51 Fuhling, "Hieronymus Cock and the Impact of His Published Architectural and Ornamental Prints," 36–37.

52 The fact that 1,600 plates were inventoried in Diericx's estate indicates that the firm's name was not on every plate in its stock. See van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 22.

53 See IJlinsk, "Big Fish Eat Little Fish," in this volume.

54 See Freedberg, "Aertsen, Heemskerck," 224–41.

55 See Luijten, "Hieronymus Cock and the Italian Printmakers and Publishers of His Day," in van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 30–35.

56 Two after Raphael, one each after Agnolo Bronzini, Giovanni Battista Bertani, and Lambert Lombard. Suzanne Boorsch and Michal and R. E. Lewis, *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), cat. 11–14, 16.

57 Ger Luijten, "Hieronymus Cock and the Italian Printmakers and Publishers of His Day," in van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 35.

58 Cock's etchings are the best physical evidence that he may have traveled to Rome, but this has yet to be corroborated by other evidence. Eighteen *Small Landscape* etchings were published in 1559 with a letterpress title page; a subsequent series of twenty-six etchings was published in 1561. Van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 352–57.

59 Manfred Sellink, "He was Himself Very Inventive of Landscapes," in van Grieken, et al., eds., *Hieronymus Cock*, 52–57; and Walter S. Gibson, *Pleasant Places: The Rustic Landscape from Bruegel to Ruisdael* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 1–26.

60 For discussion of styles and techniques of engraving, see Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, 72–116.

61 See *ibid.*, 94–100.

62 *Ibid.*, 90–95. On Cort's time at Cock's shop, see Manfred Sellink, *Cornelis Cort: 'constich plaedt-snijder van horne in Hollandt / accomplished plate-cutter from Hoorn in Holland'* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen, 1994), 6–7; and Sellink and Huigen Leeflang, eds., *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700. Cornelis Cort* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision, 2000), 1:xxxvi–xxxvii.

63 *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 10) in this exhibition has been attributed to Cort.

64 Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, 140, quotes Matthias Quad praising the way the brothers' etchings looked like engravings. Matthias Quad von Kinkelbach, *Teutscher National Herligkeit* (Cologne: 1609).

65 Only twelve of these had Bosch's name on the plate when first issued; the rest are attributions or associations by later publishers or cataloguers. See cat. 26 for a possible "lost" print published by Cock or his widow, which is speculatively included in this number.

66 Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, 99. See Matthijs IJlinsk, *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch: kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel (c. 1528–1569) en Jheronimus Bosch (c. 1450–1516)* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Orange House, 2009), 217n551.

67 See IJlinsk, "Big Fish Eat Little Fish," in this volume; as well as IJlinsk, *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch*, 217–21.

68 The eleventh print, known today as *Various Fantastic Figures (Hieronymus Bosch drollen)* (p. 12, fig. 1), is a pair with cat. 2 but is not included in the current exhibition.

69 Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*; Lynn F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 189–219; Frédéric Elsig, *La Naissance des Genres: la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas (avant 1620) au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Geneve* (Paris: Somogy, 2005), 21; Jeffrey Hamburger,

"Bosch's Conjuror: An Attack on Magic and Sacramental Heresy," *Simiolus* 14 (1984): 23; and Christopher Heuer, "Nobody's Bruegel," in Walter S. Melion, Bret Rothstein, and Michel Weemans, eds., *The Anthropomorphic Lens* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 403–20.

70 There were sixty-five individual plates by and after Bruegel (including four print series) in Cock's stock. For further discussion of Bruegel, Bosch, and Cock, see Ilsink, "*Big Fish Eat Little Fish*," in this volume; and Ilsink, *Bosch and Bruegel als Bosch*.

71 Carroll, *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe*, esp. 28–63; Kavalier, *Pieter Bruegel*, 213; and Emily Jo Peters, "Den gheheelen loop des weerelts: Printed Processions and the Theater of Identity in Antwerp during the Dutch Revolt" (PhD diss., University of California–Santa Barbara, 2005), 8.

72 The literature on the peasant festivals is enormous, and it is thoroughly summarized in Alison Stewart, *Before Bruegel: Sebald Beham and the Origins of Peasant Festival Imagery* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). As Stewart's title suggests, she explicitly makes the connection between the Behams in 1520s and 1530s Nuremberg and Bruegel in 1550s and 1560s Antwerp.

73 For a discussion of the Reformation and the Dutch Revolt, see the various essays in Alastair Duke with Judith Pollman and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009). On the perception between 1559 and 1566 that there was danger of an Inquisition being instituted in the Netherlands, see Margaret D. Carroll, "Peasant Festivity and Political Identity in the Sixteenth Century," *Art History* 10 (1987): 289–314, esp. 295–96. For expansive further literature, see also Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives*; Stewart, *Before Bruegel*; and Carroll, *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe*. For censorship and executions in Antwerp, see van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*; W. N. M. Hüsken, "The Fool as Social Critic: The Case of Dutch Rhetoricians' Drama," in Clifford Davidson, ed., *Fools and Folly*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 22 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1996), 128–29; Peters, "Printed Processions and the Theater of Identity," 28–29, 32; and Ben Parsons and Bas Jongenelen, eds., *Comic Drama in the Low Countries, c. 1450–1560: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge and New York: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 25.

74 On the Reformation and popular culture in general, see Robert Scribner's numerous publications, including "Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down," *Social History* 3 (1978): 322–26; *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); and "Religion, Society, and Culture: Reorientating the Reformation," *History Workshop* 14 (1982): 2–22.

75 For a specific case of brutal contention regarding a painting by Bosch, see Paul Vandenbroeck, "High Stakes in Brussels in 1567: The Garden of Earthly Delights as the Crux of the Conflict Between William the Silent and the Duke of Alba," in Jos Koldeweij and Bernard Vermet, eds., *Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 87–90.

76 While there is some possibility that *The Conjuror* (cat. 27) by Balthasar van den Bos pre-dates Bruegel's *Big Fish*, that is difficult to prove, other than to suggest that as a native of 's-Hertogenbosch, Bos might have had special knowledge of a related work by Bosch. It is generally thought that Bos's printmaking activity was limited to the 1550s, when he was working for Cock. See cat. 27; and Ilsink, *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch*, 119.

77 Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, second edition (1568). Vasari's history of prints makes no mention of early woodcuts, nor does John Evelyn in his 1662 account, although he may have been referring to early woodcuts when he mentioned "... wretched Gravings in the infancy of this art, where the Devil is but one great blot (as indeed he is the Foulest of the Creation)." Evelyn, *Sculptura: Of the History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper* (London: 1662), 35.

78 For a thorough examination of Vasari and prints, see Sharon Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012). The body of literature on early print collections is growing, see: Bury, *The Print in Italy*; Bury, "The Taste for Prints in Italy to c. 1600," *Print Quarterly* 2 (1985): 12–26; Peter W. Parshall, "Antonio Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*," *Print Quarterly* 23 (2006): 3–28; Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2 (1994): 7–36; Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*; Mark P. McDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial," *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998): 15–35; McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539): A Renaissance Collector in Seville* (London: British Museum Press, 2004); and Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker*.

79 McDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II."

80 Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* was confiscated from the court of Nassau in Brussels in 1567 by the Duke of Alba for his personal collection, entering the Spanish royal collection only in 1593. See Vandenbroeck, "High Stakes in Brussels in 1567."

81 See Carroll, *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe*, 28–63.

82 McDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II," 16–18.

83 McDonald "The Print Collection of Philip II"; and Jesús María González de Zárate, *Real Colección de Estampas de San Lorenzo de El Escorial* (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Instituto Municipal de Estudios Iconográficos, 1992–).

84 El Escorial, Madrid, Album 28-II-22.

85 El Escorial, Madrid, Album 28-II-17. See discussion in McDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II," 24.

86 "Les Proverbes mesmes n'y ont pas esté oubliez, non plus que beaucoup d'avantures facecieuses: car je n'ay rien voulu negliger dans cette sorte de curiosité." Michel de Marolles, *Catalogue de livres d'estampes et de figures en taille douce. Avec un dénombrement des pieces qui y sont contenuës* (Paris: Frederic Leonard, 1666), 13.



Big Fish Eat Little Fish: *Looking at a Potent(ial) Image and Its Offspring*

Matthijs Ilsink

The stock of prints that Hieronymus Cock amassed and traded in Antwerp during the middle of the sixteenth century was large—very large. With more than a thousand for customers to choose from at his print emporium Aux Quatre Vents (At the Sign of the Four Winds), he had something for everyone. Cock certainly did not have a monopoly on the print market, but he was by far its most important player. He was a big fish.

Cock was also the regular publisher of designs by Pieter Bruegel the Elder—who, like Cock, was a very ambitious man. The two began working together in 1555, when Bruegel was around thirty and Cock some ten years older, a relationship that continued until Bruegel's death in 1569. Cock died a year later. Volcxken Diericx, Cock's wife, carried on and even expanded the business, with a list that included prints after Bruegel.

In 1557, when Cock had been producing and selling prints for almost a decade and the collaboration with Bruegel was just a couple of years old, he published *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (fig. 1, cat. 11) based on Bruegel's design. It was a bestseller. The image proved extraordinarily appealing and open to use for countless purposes, political and otherwise—which is why the engraving spawned innumerable offspring over the years.

Bruegel and Cock are two vantage points from which this image can be seen. The viewpoints of Pieter van der Heyden, the engraver, and Hieronymus Bosch, named on the print as the “inventor” of the composition, are two more. All four contributed to the creation of one of the most famous and successful of Aux Quatre Vents's products. In the early seventeenth century, Jan Tiel, a rather obscure Dutch print publisher—a “little fish”—produced a large print based on *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*. Tiel's attitude toward prints, in particular how he borrowed copious details from past prints to make his own, tells us something about how what today might be termed a strategy of appropriation fueled the progress of art four centuries ago. In the discussion that follows, we circle like flies around the fish and try to approach Bruegel and Cock's print from different angles, with the full knowledge that every viewer's perspective is unique and that the possible interpretations are consequently high on infinite. This is true of images in general, and Cock knew it. Bruegel provided him with a design for a specific image, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, that contains a great degree of “truth,” and it is this that makes it attractive to such a wide audience of viewers.

Behold!

A father and son sit together in a rowboat, each gesturing to draw the other's attention to two distinct but equally remarkable spectacles. *Ecce* ("Behold") appears in bold letters between their pointing fingers. The father points to a huge fish lying on the bank, sliced open by a soldier wielding an enormous knife. Out of the monster's maw and belly spill smaller fish, which in turn have even smaller fish in their mouths. The son indicates a different scene closer by, reduced to human scale, where in the stern of the little boat occupied by the son and father sits another man, with a knife gripped between his teeth, taking a small fish out of the belly of a big one. The father says: "Look, son, I have known for a very long time that the big fish eat the small."¹

The caption reinforces the revelatory nature of the image. The father has long known something to be true, but it is now time to share this important piece of worldly wisdom with his son. What the son sees happening on a small scale with his own eyes is pointed out and explained to him on a much larger scale by his father. Big fish eat little fish—it is not just, but it is simply the way the world works. The mark on the blade of the soldier's knife acts as an echo of this sober, down-to-earth wisdom: if one reads the mark on a blade correctly by holding the knife vertically, then the orb is out of balance, a symbol of the "topsy-turvy" world. In the hands of the soldier, however, the orb is upright: the world is as it is. On a small scale, a man with a knife is all it takes to demonstrate this; in the wider world, it takes an army.

All this unfolds against a rather bizarre background, with a fish on legs and a man with a huge fish on his back climbing a tree to hang it out to dry. There is a fish flying through the air like a bird, and in the distance on the right, a gigantic fish lies stranded, gawked at by a crowd of people.

Grotesqueries such as these are indeed reminiscent of the work of Hieronymus Bosch, which explains to some extent the credit given to him in the print's lower left as the "inventor" of the composition. Beneath it is the monogram of the engraver, Pieter van der Heyden.



Fig. 1. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, 1557. Engraving. Private collection

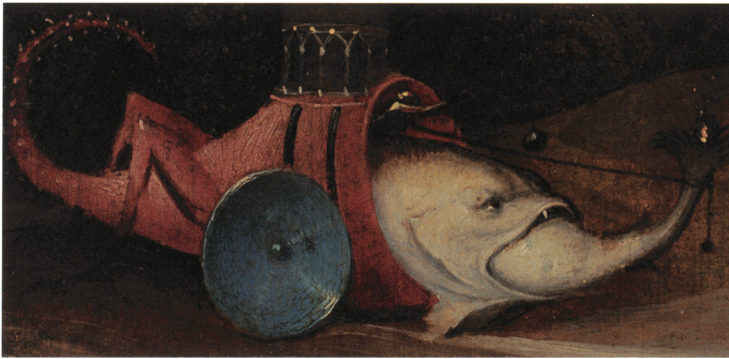
Hieronymus Cock is acknowledged as the publisher, lower right, with the year of publication. The print was evidently the result of a collaborative effort among various people, not all of whom are mentioned by name. The most notable of these missing names is undoubtedly that of the designer, but we know who it was from a preparatory drawing now in Vienna's Albertina (fig. 2), dated 1556 and signed by Pieter Bruegel.

Bosch the "Inventor"

The fact that Bruegel drafted the sketch from which this print was engraved, and yet it is Bosch who, a half century after his death, is credited as the inventor of the scene, while Bruegel remains anonymous, inevitably begs the question: can this image—or a similar one—be found in the body of paintings and drawings known to have been produced by Bosch? The theme of “big fish eat little fish” does not occur as a separate composition in Bosch's surviving work, but we do find the subject in details. Examples include a large fish on legs devouring a small fish in the center panel of *The Last Judgment* (fig. 3a), while on the central panel of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, to the right of the round pond in the center, there is a large blue fish with a smaller red fish in its mouth (fig. 3b). Likewise, a big fish with a little one in its mouth appears in the left wing of the triptych *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (fig. 3d). The walking fish in the background of the Bruegel print is akin to the “fish man” in the central panel of Bosch's triptych *The Haywain*. There are flying fishes in *St. Anthony* as well as in the *Flood* panels and *St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child* (cat. 5a). A fishlike monster with a small fish clasped in its jaws appears in a drawing attributed to Bosch, now in Berlin's Kupferstichkabinett.² Bosch's *Adoration of the Magi* provides a particularly interesting example: there, on the hem of the garment worn by the black king's page, the motif of big fish eating little ones is used in a Eucharistic context (fig. 3c). The fish as a symbol for Christ is almost as old as Christianity itself.



Fig. 2. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, 1556. Pen and brush with gray and black ink, incised for transfer. Albertina, Vienna



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Fig. 3a. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Last Judgment* (detail), c. 1504–08. Oil on panel. Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien; fig. 3b. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (detail), c. 1500–05. Oil on panel. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid; fig. 3c. Hieronymus Bosch, *Adoration of the Magi* (detail), c. 1495. Oil on panel. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid; fig. 3d. Hieronymus Bosch, *Temptation of St. Anthony* (detail), c. 1500. Oil on panel. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon

In Bruegel's *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, the use of the word *ecce* may have Christological significance because of its association with the words spoken of Christ by John the Baptist, “Ecce Agnus Dei” (“Behold, the Lamb of God”), and Pontius Pilate, “Ecce homo” (“Behold the man”).³ It is an association that Bruegel declines to make explicit, but it is part of the power of this picture, serving to make it what Dario Gamboni has called a “potential image,” an image that demands an active role on the part of the viewer.⁴ It also means that the image plays upon the viewer’s visual and intellectual baggage. The numerous copies and variations of the print, often invested with very different meanings, leave no doubt that *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* is indeed “potential” and “elastic,” a subject to which we will return later.

For the moment we will remain focused on the print *Cock* issued in 1557. When we think about this print and its success, it is important to see it as the result of a collaboration among designer, engraver, and publisher. Pieter van der Heyden was to engrave more of Bruegel’s designs than any other engraver; his particular talent lay in his ability to cut in copper with a burin a near literal transcription of what Bruegel drew in pen and ink on paper.⁵ This becomes clear if one puts the drawing and the print one atop the other and compares them down to the smallest detail (fig. 4).⁶ Van der Heyden did not, however, faithfully transcribe the inscription



Fig. 4. Composite view of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's drawing *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (fig. 2) and Pieter van der Heyden's engraving after the drawing (fig. 1, cat. 11; reversed).

and lettering from Bruegel's drawing. Instead, he made a deliberate departure, omitting the signature "1556 / brueghel" lower right and replacing it with "Hieronijmus Bos / inventor." It seems unlikely that van der Heyden did this on his own initiative, and the question of who told him to do it—and why—has occupied art historians for generations.

Cock Cooks for Everyone

Does this mean that we should regard *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* as something of a fake?⁷ Evidently, Bosch was imitated early on in a manner intended to mislead the public. Around 1560, Felipe de Guevara, the son of a collector of Bosch's work and author of a compilation of commentaries on painting, remarked that Bosch imitators hung paintings with false signatures over the fireplace so that the smoke would make the paintings look older.⁸ Recent art-historical literature on *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* indeed suggests commercial motives as the most likely explanation for the inscription.⁹ In the mid-sixteenth century, Bosch continued to be celebrated as an artist whose bizarre creations were in great demand. Yet aside from a handful of late-fifteenth-century prints by Alart du Hameel in the years immediately following Bosch's death, the artist's distinct visual idiom was explored and exploited solely through the medium of paint.¹⁰ Thus, it is assumed that by publishing *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* in 1557, Cock leaped to fill a commercial void that existed in the print market. Although small in number compared to the whole of Aux Quatre Vents's list—just twelve in all—the prints Cock and his widow published "after" Bosch did not go unnoticed. In Lodovico Guicciardini's 1567 description of the Low Countries, the Florentine-born resident of Antwerp included a short passage on Cock, leading off his description of the print seller by noting his prints after Bosch.¹¹ Guicciardini regarded Cock as someone who made the work of painters available to a wider public and seems to have accepted unquestioningly that the

prints after Bosch were linked directly to the artist. It was a logical assumption. One of the very first prints Cock published was a large engraving on two copper plates of Raphael's *School of Athens*, a faithful rendering in black and white of the famous fresco in the Vatican (p. 45, fig. 8).¹²

Whatever can be conjectured about Cock's commitment to artistic integrity as a one-time painter himself, there can be no doubt that he was an entrepreneur. Karel van Mander said as much: "I have little to say about Hieronymus Cock, for he abandoned art and became an art dealer. . . . This is how Hieronymus grew rich; he bought one house after another."¹³ In one of the prints in a series of ornaments after Benedictus Battini, which Cock published in 1553, five years after he started selling prints, he presented himself as a cook who prepared something for everyone, punning his own name (*kok* is Dutch for "cook").¹⁴ He laid out his store like a supermarket where everyone could find what they wanted, whether they were looking for a Bronzino, a Raphael, a Heemskerck, or a Floris; a landscape or a villa courtyard with Classical statuary; or "just" a Resurrection scene. Over the years, Cock's publishing house offered four versions of the latter subject by four different artists, providing customers a choice of sizes and styles.¹⁵ The major collectors in Europe bought them all—and the rest of his list as well. Cock's stock of prints was a collection in its own right because of its diversity. He could even supply ornaments with learned Latin sayings to serve as borders. Thus, Cock indeed cooked for many mouths, including those who had a taste for old masters such as Lucas van Leyden, Rogier van der Weyden, or Hieronymus Bosch. But can Cock's motive in invoking the names of these artists, and specifically here, in crediting Bosch as the "inventor" of a work not by his hand, be described as rooted solely in marketability?

If we are to understand something of Cock's navigation between new and old, of novelty that is firmly anchored in examples from the past or, conversely, of retrospection that innovates, it is not enough to think only in terms of financial gain. Contemporary theories about imitation (*imitatio*) versus emulation (*emulatio*), and their attendant interaction with artistic tradition, are fundamentally important here.¹⁶ When there is a reference to the past, as there is in *Christ Carrying the Cross* after Lambert Lombard (cat. 10) and *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, that past is nevertheless at the service of the (then) present. With every print he published, Cock increased knowledge about art and encouraged the making of new art. The result is progress.¹⁷ There is consequently no question of nostalgia; the goal is inspiration, and the motive, competition. Even when the aim of a print was to make a model of reasonable fidelity available to a broader audience, the draftsman, printmaker, and publisher all felt a need to embellish or modernize it. Good examples of this include the sixteenth-century copies of Alart du Hameel's *Last Judgment* (cat. 12) and *The Besieged Elephant* (cat. 15). The figure of Christ on the mirror-image copy of *Last Judgment* (cat. 13), for instance, has a much more muscular body than Hameel had given him, while the modifications to *The Besieged Elephant* (cat. 16), published by Cock, go a good deal further. The elephant with the fort on its back has been placed in a much more prominent position than in the original; the animal is no more naturalistic but is much more monumental than Hameel's, and numerous details have been omitted or added. It could more accurately be called a "translation," a reinterpretation of the model. The work of the follower therefore always

lies somewhere between copying the model and outdoing it. When the imitator's work can pass for a product of the artist he is imitating, it means the imitation is so successful that it emulates or even surpasses the model (*aemulatio/superatio*).¹⁸ Viewed in this light, crediting Bosch as the "inventor" on *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, together with the omission of Bruegel's name, sets the seal on a perfect imitation of Bosch. Imitator and imitated, follower and model merge into one, and a new "Bosch" is born. Big fish eat little fish.

Bruegel the Imitator

The impetus for the creation of *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* must have lain somewhere in the force fields of commerce, a burgeoning regional identity, artistic rivalry, and engagement with the past. From the earliest written reference to Bruegel, the artist was linked to imitation, specifically in Guicciardini's description of the Low Countries, which we have already discussed in regard to Hieronymus Cock and which was published during Bruegel's lifetime. In it, Guicciardini writes: "Pieter Bruegel from Breda, great imitator of the science and fantasies of Hieronymus Bosch, hence he also received the nickname 'second Hieronymus Bosch.'" ¹⁹ Guicciardini explicitly states that he had finished the research for his book in 1560, which means Bruegel earned his nickname through Boschian works made before then.²⁰ In addition to *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, these would have included *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (1556–57), the series *Seven Deadly Sins* (1556–58), *Patience* (1557), *The Last Judgment* (1558), and *The Witch of Mallegheem* (1559). Paintings such as *Dulle Griet* (*Mad Meg*) (c. 1561–62) and *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* (1562) were still to come. Bruegel evidently acquired his sobriquet chiefly from prints published by Cock, although paintings such as *The Battle Between Carnival and Lent* and *Netherlandish Proverbs* (both 1559) may also have been associated with Bosch.²¹

In 1572, Dominicus Lampsonius repeated Guicciardini's description of Bruegel in humanist Latin, wondering who this newborn Bosch might be. In a verse used as the inscription on Bruegel's portrait in Lampsonius's *The Effigies of Several Famous Painters of the Low Countries*, the painter is described as a follower (imitator) of Bosch's art as well as an artist who surpassed it (emulator).²² Karel van Mander translated the text into Dutch and added it to the end of his biography of Bruegel in his 1604 *Schilder-boeck*, but van Mander's characterization of Bruegel the imitator is broader and goes beyond his imitation of Bosch, for it is in the *Schilder-boeck* that "Peasant Bruegel" is born. Van Mander recounts how Bruegel and his friend Hans Franckert went out disguised as peasants to attend the weddings and fairs of rural folk. Bruegel found it amusing, we are told, to observe the peasants and study their way of eating, drinking, dancing, and courting. He would then "render this very skillfully in both watercolor and oil paint."²³ Bruegel appears here as an actor playing the part of a peasant who immerses himself so thoroughly in his role that the paintings he makes afterwards are extraordinarily convincing. The artist imitates his subject and, briefly, becomes a peasant himself so that his imitation of peasant nature in paint will be all the more successful.²⁴ Van Mander was less concerned with Bruegel as an imitator of Bosch. All he says on the subject is that Bruegel had studied Bosch's manner well and had himself made many gruesome

scenes, but he makes an interesting distinction: while Bosch's grotesquery was more horrible than pleasant to see, van Mander writes, it had become comical in Bruegel, so much so that it earned him a new nickname: "Pieter the Droll." Van Mander spends more time praising Bruegel's ability to imitate the nature of peasants and the nature of the landscape, a sentiment echoed by Abraham Ortelius. In a self-penned contribution to his own *album amicorum*, Ortelius wonders rhetorically whether it was Nature herself who, out of jealousy, brought about Bruegel's premature death. After all, Ortelius writes, Bruegel was so skilled at imitating nature that he could take nature's place and had himself become the model for all painters; Bruegel was the nature of the art of painting.²⁵ The same *ars-natura* transmutation is the subject of a scholarly and sophisticated inscription on a 1606 portrait print of Bruegel.²⁶ In these examples, Bruegel is heralded as the imitator who is so good at what he does that imitator and imitated can scarcely be told apart.

To Giorgio Vasari, however, Bruegel's name was exclusively linked to Bosch's. In the second edition of his *Vite*, published in 1568, it is in the life of Marcantonio Raimondi "and other printmakers," including Cock, where we find Bruegel and Bosch.²⁷ Vasari starts with the print *Saint Martin with His Horse in a Ship* (cat. 7), "full of devils and bizarre forms." Because Bosch is credited on this print, too, as the "inventor" of the composition, Vasari consequently reports that the print was engraved after an example by the artist from 's-Hertogenbosch. He then describes *The Alchemist* (c. 1558), not writing in so many words that it was engraved from a design by Bruegel but simply saying that this print was drawn by an artist who had also executed in print form *The Seven Deadly Sins*, *The Last Judgment*, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, *Everyman* (1558), and *The Fat Kitchen* and *The Lean Kitchen* (both 1563).

The most remarkable aspect of this passage is not so much that Vasari mentions Bosch and Bruegel in the same breath but that he files *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* neatly into the list of Bruegel prints. Evidently it was an open secret that although Bruegel's name did not appear on the print, he had nonetheless been responsible for the design. The same must have been true of *Everyman*, for Bruegel's name is not referenced there either. The fact that Vasari describes the print of St. Martin separately as a composition engraved after Bosch tells us, moreover, that he knew that it was not designed by Bruegel. By not mentioning Bruegel's name, Vasari underlines the similarities between Bosch and Bruegel as two artists specialized in depicting grotesqueries and phantasms while tacitly acknowledging a fact of which contemporaries were also well aware: Bruegel certainly imitated Bosch, but the men were two different artists.

We are then faced with the question as to what an artist such as Bruegel had to gain by so obviously imitating Bosch's style and even, in the case of *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, allowing Bosch's name replace his own. What can Bruegel's motive have been for adopting Bosch's manner to such an extent that he became known as the "second Bosch?" Can we find an explanation for Bruegel's (selective) use of Bosch's style? Without doubt this matter rests in Bruegel's selection of the most appropriate outward form, or decorum. Bruegel chose to draw his series *Seven Deadly Sins* in the manner of Bosch, for instance, because the portrayal of evil, with attendant devils and demons, was associated with Bosch above all others. For his

Virtues, however, which can be regarded as a pendant to the *Sins*, Bruegel chose a completely different style that bears no resemblance to Bosch at all, turning to Bosch only in the print *Fortitude* (*Fortitudo*) (cat. 16a), and there only to depict, again, sin (as overcome by the strength of the work's titular virtue). Bruegel's use of two distinct styles serves here to reinforce the antithetical relationship of sin and virtue. This is not to say that Bosch's manner was regarded as the only available or correct style with which to depict "evil" subjects. In 1561, shortly after Bruegel's *Seven Deadly Sins*, Cock published a similar series, but this time on a smaller scale and drawn by Jan van Stalburch.²⁸ The style van Stalburch used is more classicizing and akin to the manner of Frans Floris. It is yet another illustration of how concerned Cock was to have the prints on his list cover a wide range in terms of style and size (and catalogue price). As far as Bruegel was concerned, adopting a style was like assuming a role for which he could put on an appropriate costume. Just as Bruegel dressed up as a peasant so that he could attend without inhibition rustic fairs and weddings, so, too, did he play the part of Bosch—something he did so well that his predecessor's name clung to him.

Bruegel's enthusiastic parroting of Bosch's style at the point when he was establishing himself as an artist also implies a wily, perhaps even daring, act of self-promotion: reference to the work of other artists—particularly artists of renown—inevitably provokes discussion and invites comparisons. The viewer is encouraged to compare the model and the imitation, and to pass judgment on the imitator's success. This is exactly what Lampsonius is doing when he asks: "So who is this Bosch? Jerome newly arrived / in the world, who imitates for us his Master's powerful dreams, / experienced with the brush, and so able in his style, / that he meanwhile even surpasses him?"²⁹ It follows from this that the master shows himself in the imitation, and that, paradoxically, it is in the imitation where the art lies. Making art, demonstrating skill, and displaying ingenuity—this is Bruegel's *métier*, which makes Bruegel, much more literally than Bosch, an artist. Using Bosch's style (and models in general) enabled Bruegel to make and to show his own artistic talent. His work is artifice, but it is so well made that it is not artificial.³⁰ Even when he depicts unnatural subjects as in *The Seven Deadly Sins*, he does it—with the aid of Bosch's style—quite naturally. In each of the seven prints, Bruegel includes a monstrous figure of a head on legs in the foreground, each of which gives the impression of having been borrowed directly from Bosch. On closer inspection, however, we find that none of these figures appears precisely as such in Bosch's work. In fact, such figures occur only occasionally in Bosch. In his borrowings, Bruegel always strikes a balance between quotation and modification; the precedent of the model is clear to all, but a detailed comparison always reveals key differences. The result is admiration for the (relative) inventiveness of the artist. Without the inter pictorial relationship with Bosch's work, this admiration would not have been possible at all. In short, what Bruegel had to gain in following Bosch was to equal and then to surpass his predecessor's art.³¹

The greater the quality of the model, the greater the glory in outshining it. But the pitfalls are deep: greater, too, is the scorn and derision for the artist who fails to imitate the perfect model well. This was a fate that, according to van Mander, befell Michel Coxcie, who had made extensive use of Raphael's *School of Athens* for an altarpiece at St. Gudula's in Brussels, *The Death of the Virgin*. When Hieronymus Cock published Raphael's masterpiece as a

print in 1551, Coxcie's shortcomings became embarrassingly clear—everyone could see that he had simply copied, rather than improved upon, the model.³² Conversely, Bruegel would be lavished with praise for the naturalism of his rendition of the same subject.

The example of Coxcie tells us that, among contemporary audiences, there was at least a segment who looked at the artistic quality of paintings with a critical eye. Originality was important but always in relation to artistic tradition. The success of an artist rested, at least in part, on striking a balance between tradition and innovation, with one viable strategy being the more or less open use of a model. The authors of the early literature on art, however, stress that in the practice of *imitatio*, the model should be concealed.³³ Tension arises when an artist allows his model to resonate too clearly, and the risk of the sort of criticism that assailed Coxcie becomes considerably greater—but so, too, does the glory when it is seen that the artist has succeeded in transforming the model into a “new” work of art.

In Bruegel's case, this always proves true when works evidently executed by him in Bosch's style are compared with Bosch's own. Bruegel's *Temptation of St. Anthony* (fig. 5), for instance, would be inconceivable without Bosch's *Tree-Man* (cat.4a), but it is nevertheless fundamentally different. The fusing of a tree form with a human head resting on a boat, combined with a tavern scene in the hollow belly of a fish, is a brilliant reworking of the detail in *The Garden of Earthly Delights* or the separate drawing Bosch made of the same detail. As he did in each of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Bruegel added a Boschian head on legs, positioned above St. Anthony's head. The drawing was done around 1556, the same year as the *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* drawing, but the St. Anthony print was published that same year, which makes it the very first print after Bruegel that was executed in the style of Bosch.



Fig. 5. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, c. 1556. Pen and brush with brown and gray-brown ink. Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford



Fig. 6. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Adoration of the Kings*, 1564. Oil on panel. National Gallery, London



Fig. 7. Hieronymus Bosch, *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1495. Oil on panel. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

The only inscription on the print is Cock's address, leaving unanswered the question as to who was responsible for the design. Just as people do now, the public of the day would have associated it with Bosch, but they would also have linked Bruegel with the successful series *Large Landscapes* that Cock had brought out shortly before, on which the artist's name does appear. In 1557, the year after the publication of *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, Bruegel and Cock went a step further, not only leaving Bruegel's name off *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* but adding Bosch's. That same year, however, Cock published *Patience (Patientia)* (cat. 8b), a much larger print than *Big Fish* or *St. Anthony*, on which Bruegel was credited as the "inventor." This composition is a combination of a large landscape and a Boschian hell scene. Although impossible without Bosch, the work is a true Bruegel. The print is much more than a picture executed in the commercially attractive Boschian style—it is an attempt to rival Bosch.

Key to distinguishing between Bosch and Bruegel's imitations of Bosch is the fact that the latter are serious jokes—drolleries—with the imitation of Bosch's style as their subject.³⁴ The evil at the heart of so much of Bosch's work, portrayed by him as an ever-present threat, has become ridiculous or been made topical in Bruegel. In *Dulle Griet*, the devil is rendered harmless by mocking him; women (!) tie him to cushions.³⁵ In *The Adoration of the Kings* (fig. 6), the soldiers in Herod's army look very modern indeed. Bruegel's imagining of the subject is a magnificent imitation of Bosch's famous *Adoration* (fig. 7), a painting that was made for an Antwerp cloth merchant, repeatedly copied, and very closely studied by Bruegel.³⁶

To a degree, *imitatio* itself is the subject of Bruegel's art. The overt borrowing of Bosch's style, the paraphrasing of his work, and the use of his name invite the viewer to compare the imitation and the model and to discuss them, thereby employing a pictorial strategy perfectly attuned to the interests of a rapidly growing group of art enthusiasts and connoisseurs in the

sixteenth century, when the discussion of art took on an increasingly important role in social intercourse.³⁷ This cultural shift would itself become the subject of art by the first decades of the seventeenth century, when countless paintings of art cabinets with people conversing about and looking at the works therein appeared on the market.³⁸ These paintings doubtless visualized a practice that had existed in previous decades and that had even been parodied by Bruegel in *The Painter and the Connoisseur* (c. 1565).

Interacting with models and consuming them is a centripetal force in the whole of Bruegel's oeuvre. Bosch played a key role as a model for Bruegel in the first half of his artistic career: Bosch facilitated Bruegel's creations, and Bruegel re-created Bosch. As Lampsonius wrote, Bosch was born again in Bruegel. The products this generated served to entertain and enthrall the viewer. The success of a print such as *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* lies in the fact that every viewer can connect with this cliché; the image is, in a way, empty and only acquires meaning through the eyes of the viewer. But Bruegel was a viewer himself. Seen in the context of Bruegel as a maker of *art*, whose mastery is at its height in imitation, this print is an explanation of art itself. Big fish eating little fish, conceived by Bruegel under the pseudonym Bosch, or conceived by Bosch and re-created by Bruegel, is an image of the *perpetuum mobile* of art: art coming into being by imitating earlier art and endeavoring to better it. *Ars gratia artis*.



Fig. 8. Unknown engraver, *Siet vrinden dit heeftmen veel jaren geweten dat de groote vissen de cleynen eten* (Look, friends, people have known for many years that the big fish eat the little ones), published by Jan Tiel after 1616. Engraving. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Offspring: Beyond Bruegel

After the death of Cock's widow, many of the prints in the stock of Aux Quatre Vents—among them the works after Bruegel and Bosch—had a second life at other publishing houses. The copper plate of *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* was bought by the Galle family and republished in the 1630s by Joannes Galle (cat. 33a), while Hendrick Hondius put out a copy of it in the early seventeenth century that enjoyed renewed success in the northern Netherlands.³⁹ This copy was reissued in 1619 by Claes Janszoon Visscher, who replaced Bosch's name, which had featured on the print since 1557, with Bruegel's.⁴⁰ As well as reissues and copies, there were also new compositions that derived their inspiration directly from *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*.

It is here that we return to Jan Tiel, the little-known Dutch publisher referenced at the beginning of this essay. Around 1616, Tiel issued a print titled *Siet vrinden dit heeftmen veel jaren geweten dat de groote vissen de cleynen eten* (Look, friends, people have known for many years that the big fish eat the little ones) (fig. 8).⁴¹ At the lower left of the fairly large print we see Cock and Bruegel's big fish, but perched atop it now are the two figures who were sitting in the boat in the original print. The figure in Bruegel's work climbing a ladder with a fish on his back appears twice in Tiel's: in the middle of the background, where an "executioner" hangs fish on a gallows, and in the center, where a small figure mounts a ladder leaning against a table on which five big fish gorge themselves on a shoal of little ones. Further examination—after some detective work—reveals that the entire print is comprised of quotations such as these. To date, thirty-four motifs from sixteen different prints have been identified in Tiel's print, most adapted to the fish theme (fig. 9). These quotes are not confined to the borrowing of principal motifs from prints such as *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*; many of them are details from other prints, too. For instance, four small monsters are quoted from *The Last Judgment* that Cock published "after" Bosch, while *The Last Judgment* after Bruegel supplies two appropriate details: the fish in the foreground and the leviathan's gaping maw. And there are also motifs from prints that have nothing to do with fish. The little dog in the foreground and the owl over the fireplace, for example, were taken from *Shrove Tuesday* "after" Bosch (cat. 23). It is noteworthy that the great majority of the source prints came from Hieronymus Cock's publishing house, further confirmation of the success of his business. One remarkable detail in the Tiel print is the figure playing the violin in the center, which derives from one of the prints in the series of hunchbacked figures by Jacques Callot. The Callot print dates to 1616, making it, as of this writing, the most recent print to be identified with a detail incorporated into Tiel's, made that same year. Callot's hunchbacks also appear in three other satirical prints published by Tiel, which apparently made up a set with Tiel's fish print: all three are similar in composition and size, and they are likewise composed in their entirety by borrowing motifs from other prints (fig. 10).⁴²

What, then, to make of Tiel's group of prints, with their profuse and seemingly unrepentant incorporation of the work of others? Whereas one might expect the inscriptions to guide the viewer in the process of creating meaning, the considerable volume of lettering in the compositions provides remarkably little to go on. This is in distinct contrast to prior versions of *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, to return to our primary focus, where captions often



Fig. 9. Annotated reproduction of figure 8. To date, thirty-four motifs from sixteen previously published prints have been identified in the engraving issued by Jan Tiel after 1616. These motifs correspond by number to the prints listed here, with the number of motifs Tiel used from each print appearing in brackets.

1. Pieter van der Heyden in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *Shrove Tuesday*, 1567 (cat. 23) [2]
2. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Last Judgment*, 1558 [2]
3. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Patience (Patientia)*, 1558 [4]
4. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, 1557 (cat. 11) [5]
5. Attributed to Cornelis Cort after a follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Last Judgment (Triptych)*, n.d. (cat. 14) [4]
6. Jacques Callot, from the series *Various Hunchbacked Figures*, 1616 [1]
7. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Lean Kitchen*, 1558 [1]
8. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Prudence (Prudentia)*, c. 1559–60 [1]
9. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Ass in the School*, 1558 [2]
10. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Envy (Invidia)*, 1558 [3]
11. Unknown engraver in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *Cripples, Fools, Musicians, and Beggars on Crutches or Wooden Legs*, n.d. (cat. 2) [2]
12. Joannes van Doetecum and Lucas van Doetecum after Alart du Hamel, *The Besieged Elephant*, n.d. (cat. 16) [1]
13. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Pride (Superbia)*, 1558 [1]
14. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Anger (Ira)*, 1558 (cat. 16b) [3]
15. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Gluttony (Gula)*, 1558 [1]
16. Adriaen Collaert, from the series *Living Images of Fish: Cod*, after 1598 [1]

served to provide interpretive guidance for the viewer—and over time, to demonstrate the supreme malleability of the image. The addition of a verse from the Bible (James 2:6) on the fourth state of Bruegel's *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* directs the viewer to see the print in terms of the relationship between the rich and the poor.⁴³ The second state of the copy of this print by Hondius, dated 1619, imparts a very different meaning via explicit political inscriptions that identify the big fish as the “Barneveltsche Monster” being cut open with “the Knife of Justice” wielded by Maurice, Prince of Orange and Stadholder of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, transforming the print into an allegorical expression of support for the conviction and execution that same year of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Land's Advocate of the Netherlands.⁴⁴ In an inflammatory pamphlet by Pieter Feddes van Harlingen published around that time, the image of the big fish

eating small ones is explained in a similar manner.⁴⁵ Tiel's print, as well, has been interpreted in this vein, as criticism of the ruling powers and, by extension, as praise for the little man who is safeguarded against this power struggle.⁴⁶ Yet despite all its verbiage, the viewer is not pointed to any specific reading; all the inscriptions are variants on the proverb about big fish eating little ones, serving but to relate in words what is already depicted. The fact that the big fish eat the little ones does not mean that the little ones do not eat fish, just that they eat even smaller ones. It is an almost infinite spiral, and the inscriptions reflect this, as in the one in the extreme lower right of the print, beside the figures in the sliced-open belly of a huge fish:

It does no good to grouse and bawl,
For we are in and on we crawl.
Where first the great ones caused us pain,
Lesser men than us will pay for it again.⁴⁷

Paradoxically, this brings us virtually full circle back to Bruegel's original print, where the meaning is left ambiguous and bends to the viewer's opinions. There the ambiguity owes to a relative paucity of text; in the case of the Tiel print, it is just the opposite, but the result is similar. So much text has been added, couched moreover in such general terms, that the meaning largely depends on the individual viewer. Some would have taken it as a moralizing lesson; others would have been attracted by the many comical figures and so looked primarily at the form. Everyone, from simple folk to the higher classes, could have found something to fancy here. The fact that prints were relatively cheap meant that a great many people could have afforded them, although that is not to say that they were folk art, a product aimed at the common man. If the inscriptions on Tiel's fish print, like those on the other three prints,



Fig. 10 . Unknown engraver, *Comt mannen en vrouwen alle bey en laet u snyden vande key* (*Come All Men and Women and Have the Stone Operation*), published by Jan Tiel after 1616. Engraving. National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen KKSGB6266

do not assist in narrowing down the meaning, we have to wonder what their function could have been. The consequence of the words *in* the print, which always relate to the detail beside which they are placed, is that a viewer compares words and image in each case. One effect of reading the words, therefore, is that individual details of the image are examined with greater attention. Could effect and function be one and the same here?

The solution to this puzzle may itself lie in the answer to another question, namely the significance as to why many of the pictorial quotations used in Tiel's prints are so easy to recognize. Is what we have here a designer who was not capable, in accordance with the rules of imitation, of concealing the models he had used? Has the artist failed? Perhaps, but the consequence of recognizing, on first glance, a few of these models is curiosity and a desire to discover more. The question concluding this study is therefore whether the cumulative effect that Tiel's image creates, from looking to reading, to looking more closely, to recognition, to seeking further—actions that take place successively in time—could actually be the function of Tiel's prints. If that is the case, then we are dealing here with an image that strikes up a sort of memory game. To be able to play the game, the viewer has to possess a good visual memory and/or a collection of prints. In other words, a connoisseur and collector, who goes in search of the provenance of art in the art itself.⁴⁸

At first it might seem rather far-fetched, not to say childish, to regard artistically mediocre prints such as Tiel's as games in which people are drawn in by the comical, bizarre figures only to find, after a little sleuthing, that all these elements have been taken from earlier prints. And yet art as a party game was not an unfamiliar phenomenon at the time. It could be played in the cultivated manner of the courtier as described by Baldassare Castiglione, but it could also be enjoyed on a rather simpler level.⁴⁹ Karel van Mander, for instance, described the painter Herri met de Bles as the artist with the owl, because he painted an owl in many of his works. The bird was sometimes so cleverly hidden that people spent hours searching for it and bet one another that they would not be able to find it. And so people while away their time owl-hunting, wrote van Mander.⁵⁰ In his biography of Joachim Patinir, van Mander wrote about a figure defecating that the artist concealed in many of his paintings. The viewer could amuse himself searching for the pooper.⁵¹ We can also think of the rebuses and emblems that so delighted viewers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even the famous *Sinnepoppen* (1614) by the Amsterdam merchant and poet Roemer Visscher grew out of a parlor game, as the author himself acknowledged in the introduction to the collection of emblems.⁵² And it was in the period when the *Sinnepoppen* appeared in print, during the first decades of the seventeenth century, that the genre of painting aforementioned flourished, that which showed a group of people in an art cabinet conversing about the paintings, drawings, and prints they saw there. The discourse about art had become increasingly articulated in the Low Countries since the mid-sixteenth century. Even artists such as Bruegel and Bosch, whom one might not immediately associate with this phenomenon, made a contribution to the artistic debate. Seen against the backdrop of this discussion culture, it is perhaps not so unlikely after all that Jan Tiel's mischievous scenes—in which Hieronymus Cock, via his prints after Bosch and Bruegel, acted as purveyor of amusing motifs—could have had a far more dynamic function than perhaps their patchwork of appropriations may initially imply, serving as something of a tinderbox to spark conversations about art. Here, too, though, we must see it in perspective: art is first and foremost a mirror of the viewer's gaze.

Notes

This contribution revisits and enlarges on my previously published studies of Bosch, Bruegel, and Cock. See my “Pieter Bruegels *Grote vissen eten kleine* bekeken door de ogen van Hieronymus Cock,” *Desipientia – zin & waan* 11.1 (2004): 18–23; *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch: kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel (ca. 1528–1569) en Jheronimus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516)* (Edam: Orange House, 2009); and my contribution to Joris van Grieken, Ger Luijten, and Jan van der Stock, eds., *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Mercatorfonds; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 258–59, cat. 67. My thanks to Marisa Bass and Elizabeth Wyckoff for their comments and valuable suggestions during the writing of this essay.

1 “Siet sone dit hebbe ick zeer lange gheweten dat die groote vissen de cleyne eten.”

2 Fritz Koreny, *Hieronymus Bosch. Die Zeichnungen, Werkstatt und Nachfolge bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Catalogue raisonné* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), cat. 19.

3 John 1:29; John 19:5.

4 Dario Gamboni, *Potential Images: Ambiguity and Indeterminacy in Modern Art* (London: Reaktion, 2002).

5 Nadine Orenstein, “Images to Print: Pieter Bruegel’s Engagement with Printmaking,” in Orenstein and Manfred Sellink, eds., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 45–47. Van der Heyden was able to achieve this level of precision because Bruegel supplied him with exceptionally detailed designs, especially as compared to the sketches produced by other artists of the period.

6 For just such a comparison, see <http://boschproject.org/friends/Albertina/BigFish/>.

7 Mark Jones, ed., *Fake? The Art of Deception* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), no. 131.

8 Felipe de Guevara, *Comentarios de la pintura* (Madrid: Geronimo Ortega, 1788), 42: “Ansi vienen á ser infinitas las pinturas de este género, selladas con el nombre de Hyeronimo Bosco, falsamente inscripto; en las quales á él nunca le pasó por el pensamiento poner las manos, sino el humo y cortos ingenios, ahumandolas á las chimeneas para dalles autoridad y antigüedad.”

9 See, for example, Orenstein and Sellink, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, 141; Larry Silver, “Second Bosch: Family Resemblance and the Marketing of Art” [1999], in Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 133–60; and Peter van den Brink, “Hieronymus Bosch as a Model Provider for a Copyright-Free Market,” in Hélène Verougstraete and Roger van Schoute, eds., *Jérôme Bosch et son entourage et autres études: Le dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture, Colloque XIV, 13–15 Septembre 2001, Bruges-Rotterdam* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 84–101.

10 For the early reception of Bosch, see Gerd Unverfehrt, *Hieronymus Bosch: die Rezeption seiner Kunst im frühen 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Mann, 1980). For Hameel’s prints, see Jos Koldewij, Paul Vandenbroeck, and Bernard Vermet, *Jheronimus Bosch, alle schilderijen en tekeningen* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen and NAI Uitgevers; Ghent: Ludion, 2001); as well as Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Kataloge der deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstiche im XV. Jahrhundert*, vol. VII (Vienna, 1908–34), 219–49.

11 Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di M. Lodovico Guicciardini patritio fiorentino, di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*. . . (Antwerp: Willen Sylvius, 1567), 99: “Girolamo Cock iuentore, & gran’ diuulgatore per via di stampa dell’opera di Girolamo Bosco, & d’altri eccellenti Pittori, onde è veramente bene merito dell’arte.”

12 Van Grieken, et al., *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*, no. 20.

13 Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994–99), vol. 1, fol. 232, 186–87.

14 Van Grieken, et al., *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*, 78. Karel van Mander edited this poem and included it in his biography of Cock: “Den Kock moet koken om ’t volcx wil van als, / D’een ghebraden, en het ander ghesoden: / Wie desen cost niet mach, ’tzijs hardt of mals, / ’t Wtspouwen en is hem niet verboden: / Maer om Kock oft volcx niet te blameren, / Verswijght de fauten, ’tsal elder passeren.” See also Van Mander, *The Lives of Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, vol. III, 244.

15 IIsink, *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch*, 222ff.

16 The formulation of terms and theories relates, in the first instance, to literature and poetry. For a clear and insightful overview of the concept of *imitatio auctorum* in European Renaissance literature, with an extensive bibliography, see Jeroen Jansen, *Imitatio. Literaire navolging (‘imitatio auctorum’) in de Europese letterkunde van de renaissance (1500–1700)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008). Compare, as well, Britta Bussmann, *Übertragungen: Formen und Konzepte von Reproduktion in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005); and Elaine K. Gazda, *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, supplementary volume 1 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002). For this concept as it relates to the visual arts, see Götz Pochat, “Imitatio und Superatio – das Problem der Nachahmung aus humanistischer und kunsttheoretischer Sicht,” in J. Meyer zur Capellen and A. Oberreuter-Kronabel, eds., *Klassizismus. Epoche und Probleme. Festschrift für Erik Forssmann* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1987), 317–35; Pochat, “Imitatio und Superatio in der bildenden Kunst,” in Paul Naredi-Rainer, ed., *Imitatio. Von der Produktivität künstlerischer Anspielungen und Missverständnisse* (Berlin: Reimer, 2001), 11–47; Alfons Reckermann, “Das Konzept kreativer imitatio im Kontext der Renaissance-Kunsttheorie,” in Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, eds., *Innovation und Originalität*, *Fortuna vitrea* 9 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993); James S. Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Conventions: Representation in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2002); Klaus Irle, *Der Ruhm der Bienen: das Nachahmungsprinzip der italienischen Malerei von Raffael bis Rubens* (Münster: Waxmann, 1997); and E. H. Gombrich, “The Renaissance Conception of Artistic Progress and Its Consequences” and “The Style all’antica: Imitation and Assimilation,” in *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance I* (London: Phaidon, 1966), 1–10; 122–28. The great majority of the literature deals with Italian art, a subject upon which Elizabeth Cropper’s *The Domenichino Affair: Novelty, Imitation, and Theft in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) is outstanding. The concept has been insufficiently studied in relation to Netherlandish art; there are, however, valuable contributions concerning the art of the seventeenth century, particularly the work of Rubens and Rembrandt. See, for example, Jeffrey Muller, “Rubens’s Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art,” *The Art Bulletin* 64 (1982): 229–47; Eric Jan Sluiter, “Over ‘rapen’ en wedijver in de Nederlandse schilderkunst

van de zeventiende eeuw,” *De zeventiende eeuw* 21.2 (2005): 267–91; and Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

17 The notion of progress played a role in art at an early stage. The German humanist Stephan Hoest, for example, was using such terminology as early as 1469. See my *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch*, 242–44.

18 Pochat, “Imitatio und Superatio in der bildenden Kunst.”

19 Guicciardini, *Descrittione di M. Lodovico Guicciardini*, 99: “Piero Brueghel di Breda, grande imitatore della scienza et fantasie di Girolamo Bosco, onde n’ha anche acquistato il soprannome di ‘Secondo Girolamo Bosco.’”

20 Monique Jacqmain, *Lodovico Guicciardini, De idyllische Nederlanden: Antwerpen en de Nederlanden in de 16e eeuw* (Antwerp: De Vries Brouwers, 1987), 6.

21 The same is probably also true of *Everyman* (1558), *The Ass in the School* (1556–57), and *The Alchemist* (c. 1558). The way Giorgio Vasari refers to these prints leads us to suspect as much.

22 Orenstein, “Images to Print,” 10.

23 Van Mander, *The Lives of Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, vol. I, fol. 233, 190–91.

24 Compare Meta Henneke, “Ritueel in beeld. De Boerenbruiloften en hun publiek in de tijd van Bruegel en zijn navolgers” (PhD diss., Free University, Amsterdam, 2009).

25 Jean Puraye, *Album amicorum Abraham Ortelius*, 2 vols., (Antwerp: De Gulden Passer, 1967–68), fol. 12v–13r.

26 See J. B. Bedaux and A. van Gool, “Bruegel’s birthyear, motive of an ars/natura transmutation,” *Simiolus* 7.3 (1974): 133–56.

27 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de’ piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori* . . . , second revised and enlarged impression, vol. 1 (Florence, 1568), 320–21.

28 F. W. H. Hollstein, et al., *Hollstein’s Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, vol. XXVIII (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1949), nos. 7–14.

29 The English here is, in turn, based on van Mander’s translation of Lampsonius’s original Latin into Dutch, *The Lives of Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, vol. 1, fols. 216v–217, 124–27: “Wie is doch desen Bos? Jeroon van nieuws ghecoomen / Ter Weerelt, die ons bootst zijn Meesters cloecke droomen, / Ervaren met ‘t Pinceel, en stijl soo abel daet, / Dat hy hem ondertusch nochtans te boven gaet?”

30 For more on this subject as it relates to Bruegel’s late peasant paintings, see Todd M. Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

31 Jeroen Jansen rightly emphasizes that *aemulatio* (surpassing the model) is a value judgment made by the reader or viewer. Emulation functions as a laudatory topos (that is to say, on the reception side) in the context of poetry and art history, to indicate the degree to which the imitating poet or painter or his product was successful. Jansen, *Imitatio*, 385, 459–60.

32 Van Mander, *The Lives of Illustrious Netherlandish*

and German Painters, vol. 1, fols. 258v–259, 292–95.

33 One of the most familiar metaphors used to describe how an artist should assimilate his models is that of digestion. For example, Erasmus in his *Ciceronianus* (in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata* I–2 [Amsterdam: North Holland, 1969–], 652). See also Jansen, *Imitatio*, 125–27; and Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 45.

34 The prints were literally sold as “drolleries.” On July 3, 1558, for instance, Christoffel Plantijn supplied the Paris print seller Martin le Jeune with forty “Pacience drolerie,” by which he meant Bruegel’s *Patience*. The same consignment included “12 Saint Antoine drolerie” (*The Temptation of St. Anthony*), “12 Poissons drolerie” (*Big Fish Eat Little Fish*), and “4 les 7 pechez drolerie” (*The Seven Deadly Sins*). See A. J. J. Delen, “Christoffel Plantijn als prentenhandelaar,” *De gulden passer* X (1932): 11; and Delen, *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces belges, des origines jusqu’à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. IIb: les graveurs d’estampes* (Paris: G. Van Oest, 1935), 157.

35 Nina Eugenia Serebrennikov, “On the Surface of Dulle Griet: Pieter Bruegel in the Context of Rabelais,” in Barbara C. Bowen, ed., *Rabelais in Context: Proceedings of the 1991 Vanderbilt Conference* (Birmingham: Summa, 1993), 157–79.

36 Xavier Duquenne, “La famille Scheyfve et Jérôme Bosch,” *L’intermédiaire des généalogistes / De middelaar tussen de genealogische navorsers* 349.1 (2004): 1–19; and Unverfehrt, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 82–85. The Eucharistic theme so important in Bosch appears virtually absent in Bruegel.

37 For more on this phenomenon, see my *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch*, 134–213; as well as Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*; and Margaret A. Sullivan, *Bruegel’s Peasants: Art and Audience in the Northern Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

38 A number of authors have discussed this genre, notably: Zirkla Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Ekkehard Mai, “Pictura in der ‘Constamer’ – Antwerpens Malerei im Spiegel von Bild und Theorie,” in Mai and Hans Vlieghe, eds., *Von Bruegel bis Rubens. Das goldene Jahrhundert der flämischen Malerei* (Cologne: Locher, 1993), 39–54; Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Kurt Wettengl, “Kunst über Kunst. Die Gemalte Kunstkammer,” in Ekkehard Mai and Wettengl, eds., *Wettstreit der Künste. Malerei und Skulptur von Dürer bis Daumier* (Wolfenbüttel: Edition Minerva, 2002), 126–41.

39 *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700*. (Oudekerk an den IJssel: Sound and Vision, 2006), Bruegel, no. 31.

40 Ibid.

41 See Hollstein, et al., *Hollstein’s Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts* (Tiel, no. 6); as well as Wolfgang Harms, ed., *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, exh. cat. (Coburg: Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, 1983), 296–97, cat. 145; Gerd Unverfehrt, “Christliches Exempel und profane Allegorie. Zum Verhältnis von Wort und Bild in der Graphik der Boschnachfolge,” in Herman Vekeman and Justus Mueller Hofstede, eds., *Wort und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Erfstadt: Lukassen, 1984): 220–42, esp. 233; and Unverfehrt, “Grosse

Fische fressen kleine Fische: Zu Entstehung und Gebrauch eines satirischen Motivs,” in Gerhard Langemeyer, et al., eds., *Bild als Waffe: Mittel und Motive der Karikatur in fünf Jahrhunderten* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1984), 269, cat. 195; 407–08. Hollstein lists ten prints with Tiel as the publisher. One of them is dated 1580. There is no known biographical information on Tiel; see Hollstein, et al., *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts*, vol. XXX, 79–84.

42 The three other prints are: *Alte straffe heeren doen haer gunst in haet verkeeren*, *Ghy borgers en boeren aenschout hier met verblyden hoe die helden van waert een dode roch bestryden*, and *Comt mannen en vrouwen alle bey en laet u snyden vande key*. For more on this series of prints, including a transcription of the inscriptions as well as an overview of the source prints, see my *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch*, 304–15, 324–32, 333–41.

43 *The New Hollstein*, no. 31, p. 67.

44 Ibid., 69. We do not, in fact, know who was responsible for the publication of this print. Hondius's address has been scored through, but so superficially that it is still legible. It may actually have been Hondius who issued the print but was unwilling to link his name to it because of the explicit political message it expressed. The name of Hieronymus Bosch as “inventor” has also been scratched out.

45 Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. OB 67665. With thanks to Jaco Rutgers, who brought this print to my attention.

46 Ulla-Britta Kuechen, in Harms, ed., *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, no. 145. In this interpretation the path runs to power by way of slander, which can only lead to damnation. Kuechen finds her evidence for this in the adoption of the mouth of hell from Bruegel's *Last Judgment*, lower right in our print.

47 “Hiet baet geen knorren off getreur / Wij sijnder in wij cruijpender deur / Al daer de grooten ons eerst quelden / Dat sullen ons minder al weeder entgelden”

48 Jansen sums up the problem of the quotation as a game as follows: “Of all the literary functions that have to be attributed to the quotation in this period, that of the mind game may be the most exciting, but it is also the most difficult for the researcher to discover. Assessing the intended effect at its true value, after all, requires knowledge of two contexts, and of author and reader as well.” Jansen, *Imitatio*, 273.

49 Compare Thomas M. Greene, “*Il Cortegiano* and the Choice of a Game,” in Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand, eds., *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 1–16.

50 Van Mander, *The Lives of Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, vol. I, fol. 219v.

51 Ibid., fol. 219r: “Hy hadde voor ghewoonte in al zijn Landtschappen erghen te maken een Manneken zijn ghevoegh doende waerom hy den kacker wiert gheheeten: dit keckerken was t'somtijt te soecken ghelijck het Wlken van Hendrick met de Bles.” Compare Reindert L. Falkenburg, “The Devil Is in the Detail: Ways of Seeing Joachim Patinir's ‘World Landscapes,’” in Alejandro Vergara, ed., *Joachim Patinir: Essays and Critical Catalogue*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2007), 61–79.

52 Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen van Roemer Visscher* (Amsterdam, 1614), n.p.



HIERONYMVS
BOS INVENTOR

CATALOGUE

EDITORS' NOTE: *The inscriptions on the prints that follow have been transcribed with the greatest possible fidelity to their appearance on the works themselves, though for the sake of readability—and to avoid misunderstandings—we have used classical standard orthography in the Latin texts and expanded all abbreviated words (with the exception of abbreviated artists' and printers' names), as indicated in brackets throughout. Errant punctuation and reversed letters resulting from printing errors have not been maintained, though deviations in the spelling of individual words and proper names appear as they do in the original works.*



HIERONIMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.

*Quid sibi vult, Hieronime Boschi, Aspiceres? Tibi Ditis auari
 Ille oculus tuus attonitus? quid Crediderim patuisse recessus
 Pallor in ore? velut lemures si Tartaræque domos tua quando
 Spectra Erēbi volitantia corā Quicquid habet sinus imus Auerni
 Tam potuit bene pingere dextra.*

CAT. I

Hendrick Hondius (b. Duffel, 1573–d. 1650, The Hague)

after the engraving of 1572 by Cornelis Cort (b. Hoorn, 1533–d. before March 17, 1578, Rome)

The Painter Hieronymus Bosch, 1610

from the series *The Effigies of Certain Famous Painters Chiefly from the Low Countries*, 1610

Engraving, ii/ii

Published by Hendrick Hondius, The Hague

Image and platemark: 7 15/16 × 4 13/16 in. (20.2 × 12.2 cm)

Sheet: 10 1/2 × 6 13/16 in. (26.7 × 17.3 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: New Hollstein (Hondius, no. 85); Lafond 2002, no. A-12

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

Hh. ex[cudit]

in the lower margin:

HIERONIMO BOSCHIO PICTORI.

Quid sibi vult, Hironyme Boschi,

Ille oculus tuus attonitus? quid

Pallor in ore? velut lemures si

Spectra Erebi volitantia cora[m]

Aspiceres? Tibi Ditis avari

Crediderim patuisse recessus

Tartareasque domos tua quando

Quicquid habet sinus imus Averni

Tam potuit bene pingere dextra.

This witty portrait of Hieronymus Bosch was never designed to stand alone as a single print. It derives from a larger compendium of portraits titled *The Effigies of Certain Famous Painters Chiefly from the Low Countries*, published by Hendrick Hondius in 1610, which presents the histories of its subjects through a series of likenesses and accompanying poems.¹ Bosch's portrait is the fourth in a series of sixty-eight that appears in the book, establishing him as one of the founding fathers of the Netherlandish school.² Indeed, the very first portrait in the series belongs to Jan van Eyck, whose unprecedented achievements in oil painting marked the beginning of the local artistic tradition to which Bosch belonged.

Yet Hondius cannot claim original authorship of either Bosch's likeness or its accompanying verses. A market-driven publisher and printmaker, Hondius re-engraved and reissued numerous works by the great early Netherlandish masters, including several of the prints in his 1610 *Effigies*.³ The portrait of Bosch, together with twenty-one other images of early Netherlandish painters in Hondius's volume, all first appeared four decades prior in *The Effigies of Several Famous Painters of the Low Countries* (1572) compiled by the art critic and scholar Dominicus Lampsonius, who is also the author of the poems that accompany each of those earlier portraits (cat. 1A).⁴

Lampsonius's treatise was the first devoted exclusively to the history of the Netherlandish artists, and it belongs to a pivotal moment in Bosch's reception via the print medium.⁵ Indeed, Lampsonius's 1572 *Effigies* was issued by Volcxken Diericx, the widow of the publisher Hieronymus Cock, and it was Cock under whose aegis so many Boschian prints

were produced starting in the mid-sixteenth century. Lampsonius's original also concludes with a posthumous portrait of Cock himself pointing at a skull, accompanied by verses that comment on his predecessors within the volume: "These artists came before Cock, whom he has now followed / he calls upon you to be their comrades and his own."⁶

The popularity of Lampsonius's portraits is attested by Theodoor Galle's reissue of the series shortly after 1600, only a decade prior to Hondius's publication.⁷ Whereas Galle owned the original plates, Hondius made his reverse copies based on the prints themselves.⁸

Hondius's portrait shows Bosch dressed in simple attire, a marked contrast to other painters in the series, some of whom wear garments of fine damask silk or rich fur collars befitting their courtly or ecclesiastical status. As in many of the portraits, the indexical gesture of Bosch's left hand draws attention to his manual skill as a painter while also lending a measure of expressivity. However, Hondius's mirror copy overlooks the fact that it is Bosch's opposite digit that points in the original portrait; the last line of Lampsonius's poem employs the Latin *dextra* to refer specifically to the artist's right hand. Indeed, Lampsonius designed image and text to harmonize especially well in the case of Bosch's likeness, and excepting the reversed hand, Hondius shows a similar concern. The verses below address the artist directly regarding his consternated visage:

What does it mean, Hieronymus Bosch,
that astonished look in your eye, or the pallor
in your countenance, just as if you
were watching the ghostly specters
of Erebus flit about before your eyes?
I would believe that the infernal nooks
and abodes of greedy Dis lie open to you, since
whatever the deepest hollow of Avernus holds,
Your right hand [*dextra*] could paint so well.

In Lampsonius's original portrait, there was only a blank wall behind Bosch, but Hondius—as he does in several of his re-engraved portraits after Lampsonius—takes a degree of creative license and elaborates further on the poem and on Bosch's legacy. Here Hondius has included what appears to be a window into the artist's imagination. Whether read as an actual window revealing a scene of devils outside or as a framed picture representing the final product of Bosch's ruminations, the monstrous figures poking at each other and flying through flames expose the inner workings of the artist's mind and the source of his concentrated expression. A particularly clever juxtaposition occurs between the face of Bosch himself, too lost in thought to notice our presence, and the devil in the upper left, who stares anxiously out at the viewer as he is prodded by another demon below. Like so many of the prints in this exhibition, the demonic composition framing Bosch's head does not correspond to any specific known work by the artist himself but represents instead a derivation of his unique visual legacy. – M.B.



Cat. 1a. Cornelis Cort, *Portrait of the Painter Hieronymus Bosch*, in Dominicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*. Antwerp: the widow of Hieronymus Cock, 1572. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Notes

1 Hendrick Hondius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipue Germaniae inferioris effigies* (The Hague: Hendrick Hondius, 1610).

2 However, Nadine Orenstein in New Hollstein (Hondius), 90, notes that the order of portraits does vary some among extant bound editions.

3 On Hondius's output after early masters, see Stephanie Porras, "Repeat Viewing: Hendrick Hondius's *Effigies*," <http://www.courtauld.org.uk/netherlandishcanon/groups/essay01.html>; on Hondius generally, see Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1996).

4 Dominicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* (Antwerp: the widow of Hieronymus Cock, 1572). The portrait of Bosch, which comes third in Lampsonius's series, is attributed to Cornelis Cort. See New Hollstein (Cort, no. 223).

5 On Lampsonius's volume, see Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 143–59; and

Sarah Meiers, "Portraits in Print: Hieronymus Cock, Dominicus Lampsonius, and *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69 (2006): 1–16. For fuller discussion of Lampsonius's writings, see Gianni Carlo Sciolla and Caterina Volpi, *Da van Eyck a Brueghel: Scritti sulle arti di Domenico Lampsonio* (Turin: Utet, 2001).

6 Lampsonius, no. 23: "Hi praeiēre Cocum artifices; quos deinde secutus / vos iisdem comites ille, sibi que vocat."

7 Galle's edition includes an erroneous additional inscription stating that Bosch died in the year 1500.

8 The last edition of Lampsonius's work was published by Theodoor Galle after 1600, with the Bosch image inscribed "Obiit Silvaeducis in patria circa an[no] 1500." For the plates in the May 29, 1636 (*sterfhuis*) inventory of Catharina Moerentorff, widow of Theodoor Galle, see Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw in Fontes historiae artis Neerlandicae*, 1 (Brussels: Koninklijk Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1989), 4:21: "De Schilders drijentwintich platen." See also Porras, "Repeat Viewing."



CAT. 2

Unknown engraver in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

Cripples, Fools, Musicians, and Beggars on Crutches or Wooden Legs, n.d.

Engraving, only state

Published by Aux Quatre Vents, Antwerp

Image and platemark: 11 7/8 × 8 3/4 in. (30.2 × 22.2 cm)

Sheet: 13 × 9 5/8 in. (33 × 24.4 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 34); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 101; De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 125; Riggs 1977, no. 19; Vandenbroeck 1987, 58–62; Vandenbroeck 2002, 59–64; Lafond 2002, no. 20; Ilsink 2009, 84–86; Koreny 2012, 297–98; Van Grieken et al. 2013, 244, no. 59

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

Jer. Bossche Invent[or]

Aux Quatre Vents

in the lower margin:

Al dat op den blauwen trughelsack, gheerne leeft
Gaet meest al Cruepele, op beide sijden,
Daerom den Cruepelen Bisschop, veel dienaers heeft,
Die om een vette prove, den rechten ghanck mijden



CAT. 3

Monogrammist A (or "AI") in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

Various Fantastic Figures, Cripples, Fools, Musicians, and Beggars, 1599

Engraving, only state

Image and platemark: 6 3/8 x 9 7/8 in. (16.2 x 25.1 cm)

Sheet: 6 3/4 x 10 1/4 in. (17.1 x 26 cm)

Private collection

COLLECTOR'S MARK: Eugène Stuyck (Lugt 4190)

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 36); Hollstein (Cock, AI); Lafond 2002, no. 22; Koreny 2012, 294

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

Jeronimus boss. invent[or], Antv[er]pia.

A. [or A.I.] fe[cit] 1599. [monogram: unidentified artist]

in the lower margin:

Veel gaender creupele, op beijde syden

Die om een vette proue, den rechten ganck myden.

on verso, handwritten in brown ink:

cet ouvrage nest pas

commun je vous le passe pour

20 f et l'envelope est gratis

ce sont les portraits des marchand

d'images de hollande

The first of these two related prints, which represent cripples and beggars in various absurd postures, was published sometime shortly after 1570 by Volcxken Diericx, following the death of her husband Hieronymus Cock. It has a pendant in an engraving of parallel size and format also produced at Aux Quatre Vents and likewise ascribed to Bosch as “inventor” (p. 12, fig. 1).¹ The inventory of Diericx’s estate, drawn up in 1601 just after her death, lists “two copper plates of the Crippled Bishop,” which may refer to this print and its pendant.² The latter depicts a group of hybrid monsters—“Hieronymus Bosch drollen,” as the inscription names them—engaged in combat and other acrobatic absurdities. Neither image represents an actual narrative; instead, both employ a format that recalls an artist’s loose sheet of drawn studies. Indeed, the model for the cripples was a drawing now in Vienna’s Albertina (cat. 2a); a signature added later at the base of the sheet falsely attributes the drawing to Pieter Bruegel the Elder, but it must instead be the work of one of Bosch’s many anonymous followers.³ Another similar drawing of cripples survives today in Brussels executed by the same hand, though that sheet does not appear to have been translated into print.⁴

In its diversity of postures, this engraving represents a veritable compendium of human disability: amputation, disfigurement, poverty, or some combination thereof. Certain characters immediately catch the eye, such as the fool in the upper left corner who knowingly looks askance as he serenades a crowd. In the upper right quadrant, another musician wearing a feathered hat stands on a peg leg and seems to taunt the cripple before him, who must make due with only uneven crutches for support. Just below center, a couple with a dog

collaborates in raucous music, carrying pans at their hips for soliciting alms. At the bottom left, two cripples creep along the ground like insects with only stubby supports for their hands, engaging in theatrics that approach the absurd.



A modern medical study of the print, conducted by a rheumatologist, neurologist, and orthopedic surgeon, purported to diagnose the figures on the basis of their visible symptoms with ailments such as gangrene, syphilis, and cerebral palsy.⁵ The inscribed text in the lower margin, however, implies that rather than being genuine victims of affliction, the cripples are merely posturing for the sake of profit: “All who would rather live by the blue beggar’s sack / almost all go as cripples, on both sides; / as

Cat. 2a. Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *Cripples*, c. 1520–40. Pen and ink on paper. Albertina, Vienna

such, the Crippled Bishop has many servants, / who for a fat sum will avoid the right path.” The corrupt and scheming Crippled Bishop was a character who featured in sixteenth-century dramatic performances and belonged to a larger literary tradition of casting crippled beggars as embodiments of sinful idleness and false piety.⁶ Worshipping at the altar of easy money, the figure of the deceitful cripple shirks the more difficult pursuit of true faith. The knowing look of the fool in this image, coupled with the disparaging textual commentary, might suggest that the engraving takes a mocking and admonitory stance toward its subject, cataloguing the actions and deformities of those who follow the wrong path in life.⁷

Yet that dominant interpretation of this print does not wholly account for the work’s playfulness, particularly in its exploration of the body. The cripple as the antitype to ideal human proportion allowed the artist to demonstrate his capacity for invention. The image seems composed on the premise of depicting the figure in every conceivable contorted posture, perhaps as much from the artist’s imagination as from firsthand observation of actual beggars. It is also worth considering that in the pendant with which this engraving was first issued, its monstrous protagonists are characterized as *drollen*, or funny figures, an indication that they should not be taken with utter seriousness. These pendant prints do

more than offer strict moral commentary; as purported reproductions after Bosch’s designs, they also proffer the master’s creative abilities as artistic inspiration.



Subtle changes from the original Vienna drawing to the resulting print also point to a tension between understanding the beggars alternately as humorous inventions or social outcasts. There are fewer figures in the print than in the original drawing, perhaps to give the engraved composition greater legibility, and some of the cripples and beggars have shifted position. Several details have also been altered in ways that are actually less sensible. For instance, the man in the upper left of the drawing kneeling and holding a jug presents a shriveled severed foot on a cloth to evoke sympathy from potential almsgivers—a motif that also appears on the exterior wings of the *Last Judgment* in Vienna from Bosch’s workshop (cat. 2b). In his appearance in the lower right of the engraving, however, his offering looks more like a discarded sock than a foot.

Cat. 2b. Hieronymus Bosch, *Last Judgment* (detail; Saint Bavo from the exterior), c. 1504–08. Oil on panel. Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien

Many of the figures' expressions also appear to be transformed from drawing to print, though these details are difficult to assess because the Vienna sheet was completely reinforced by a later hand.⁸ In the drawing, the fool—who appears in the upper left of both compositions—looks towards the cripples as he sings rather than looking askance. The figure who kneels and drags his legs on two rectangular boards in the upper third of the composition has a youthful face and full hair in the drawing; in the engraving, he appears as a balding old man. It is not entirely clear whether the engraving or the reworked drawing in Vienna comes closer to the original design. Regardless, the Boschian cripples in this print can be said to balance deftly between their potential to engage the critical eye of the moralist and to delight the connoisseur of ingenious creations.

Evidence of the composition's use as an artistic model proves equally various. One example appears in the *Roman Missal* (c. 1581–90) illuminated by the Antwerp-born artist Joris Hoefnagel, a contemporary of Pieter Bruegel the Elder who was also an international dealer of drawings.⁹ The *Missal* dates to Hoefnagel's tenure at the court of Munich, where he created the luxury manuscript for Archduke Ferdinand II. At the base of a folio dedicated to the feast of St. Martin, who, according to legend, divided his cloak in half and shared it with a beggar, two cripples from the original Boschian composition appear with bowls for collecting alms.¹⁰ It seems more likely that Hoefnagel employed the engraving as his source, though his work as a dealer makes it possible that he knew the original drawing itself.¹¹ Regardless, Hoefnagel did not merely copy the Boschian model; he revised it to his own ends by giving the cripple in the lower right of the folio a benign face and an extra crutch to support himself (cat. 2c). Hoefnagel further ascribes a charitable meaning to the two beggars by including between them a verse from the Psalms on God's mercy: "He has distributed and given to the poor, and his justice remains forever."¹²

Another likely instance in which the Boschian engraving and its pendant served as inspiration surfaces in a drawing recently on the private market, a dense study of monstrous *drollen* that

includes two figures of cripples relatable to those in the engraving.¹³ The anonymous artist, likely active in the early seventeenth century, does not wholly copy any one Boschian prototype but instead has subversively borrowed select aspects of the prints as a model and emphasizes—in contrast to Hoefnagel—the raucous rather than the more sympathetic side of the cripples' character.¹⁴



Cat. 2c. Joris Hoefnagel, *The Feast of St. Martin* (detail), from the *Missale Romanum*, c. 1581–90. Watercolor and gouache on parchment. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna cod. 1784, fol. 54or



Cat. 3a. Detail cat. 2



Cat. 3b. Detail cat. 3

A far less inventive reuse of the figures in the print published at Aux Quatre Vents is another engraving best described as a pastiche of the original (cat. 3).¹⁵ Smaller and horizontal in format, its creation remains obscure beyond the date “1599” inscribed in the lower right.¹⁶ Its engraver signed only with the initial “A,” or perhaps “A. I.,” and has yet to be identified. A further oddity here is that “Antwerp” is appended not after the date but instead directly after Bosch’s name. This almost seems to suggest that by the end of the sixteenth century, Bosch had become so closely associated with that city—through the large output there of painted and printed works in his manner—that inventions published under his name were as much associated with that busy metropolis as with his hometown of ’s-Hertogenbosch. Thus the inscription’s reference to Antwerp cannot necessarily be taken as a reference to the engraving’s place of publication, even if this point of origin seems plausible within the history of the Boschian print phenomenon at large.

From the earlier vertical engraving, the anonymous designer has excerpted and adapted select figures, likely copying them from the print and not the plate, as each cripple is reversed from his orientation in the preexisting image. Some of the new pairings and details are particularly humorous. In the upper right, two figures from the original engraving are combined in dialogue, such that the one hunched beggar now extends his panhandling bowl to catch the nosebleed of his crippled counterpart (cat. 3a, 3b). The figure in the lower left corner derives from a cripple just left of center in the vertical print, but rather than crawling awkwardly on the ground, he is now seated in an oversized dish that rhymes with the many bowls for collecting alms carried by the other beggars. The designer copied a portion of the original inscription as well, though in its abbreviated form it no longer comments on the deceitfulness of the beggars or references the Crippled Bishop but rather places its sole emphasis on the indigents’ quest for profit through the display of their physical infirmities.

Like the counterpart from which it is derived, this engraving doubtless could have served as a model for other artists interested in the inventive Boschian approach to human deformity. Evidence of its simultaneous appreciation as a satirical image is also found in an album of comical prints, assembled by the seventeenth-century collector Michel de Marolles (cat. 3c).¹⁷



Cat. 3c. *Recueil de pièces facétieuses et bouffonnes de 1500 à 1630*, fol. 104. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve TF-1

The cripples are pasted alongside a French print titled *Le Caquet des Femmes* (*The Cackle of Women*), itself divided in two scenes: the first shows a gathering of clothed ladies discoursing on how the single act of giving birth is a small price to pay for nine months of pleasurable lovemaking, while the second depicts the women cavorting together naked in the bath and rejoicing in their power to seduce men and gods through their beautiful forms.¹⁸ While the French dames and Boschian beggars would appear to have little in common, both can be mocked for dwelling only on the pleasures and pains of the body rather than the concerns of the mind or spirit. As groups of individuals who rely exclusively on outward appearances, they are easy to fault, yet they also make for visual subjects of irresistible amusement.

Whatever the precise origins of the horizontal cripples print, it offers important testament to how the perpetuation of Bosch's legacy happened at an increasingly distant remove from the artist himself. Pieced together from an earlier engraving, which itself derived from a drawing not of Bosch's own hand, its authorial claim has far more to do with the artist's posthumous success on the Antwerp market than with the moment in which Bosch actually lived and worked. – M.B.

Notes

- 1 An impression of this print entered the private collection as this catalogue was going to press.
- 2 “twee coperen plaeten van den Cruepelen Bisschop.” The inventory also catalogues “twenty-two sheets of the Crippled Bishop” (“Tweentwintig bladeren van den Cruepelen Bisschop”) and then “another twenty-one sheets” (“Noch eenentwintig bladeren van den Cruepelen Bisschop”). See Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols. (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Kunstwetenschappen, 1984–2009), 1:26.
- 3 Koreny 2012, 296–99, no. 27.
- 4 Ibid., 300–03, no. 28.
- 5 Jan Dequeker, Guy Fabry, and Ludo Vanopdenbosch, “Hieronymus Bosch (1450–1516): Paleopathology of the Medieval Disabled and Its Relation to the Bone and Joint Decade 2000–2010,” *Israel Medical Association Journal* 3 (2001): 864–71; and *ibid.*, “De processie van kreupelen naar Jeroen Bosch (ca. 1450–1516): een historische analyse,” *Millennium: Tijdschrift voor Middeleeuwse Studies* 15 (2001): 140–53.
- 6 Vandenbroeck 1987, 43–62; Ethan Matt Kavalier, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 128; Matthijs IJssink, “Bosch, Bruegel and the Netherlandish Tradition,” in van Grieken et al. 2013, 244, no. 59. For an example of this derogatory cripple literature, see Victor de Meyere and Lode Baekelmans, *Her boek der rabauwen en naaktridders: bijdragen tot de studie van het volkleven der 16e en 17e eeuwen* (Antwerp: De Tijd, 1914), originally published by Jan de Laet in Antwerp, 1563.
- 7 See Erwin Pokorny, “Bosch’s Cripples and Drawings by His Imitators,” *Master Drawings* 41.3 (2003): 293–304; and Tom Nichols, *The Art of Poverty: Irony and Ideal in Sixteenth-Century Beggar Imagery* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 60–80.
- 8 Koreny 2012, 298.
- 9 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1784.
- 10 For further discussion of this folio, see Th. A. G. Wilberg Vignau-Schurmann, *Die Emblematischen Elementen im Werke Joris Hoefnagels*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1969), 1:115–16, no. 199, though she fails to identify Hoefnagel’s Boschian source.
- 11 For a Boschian drawing that Hoefnagel may have owned (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, inv. no. C 815 recto), see Koreny 2012, 22, 360–63, no. 45r. For Hoefnagel’s own reference to his access to drawings by Bosch in a 1579 letter to the Italian buyer Niccolò Gaddi, see Thea Vignau Wilberg, “‘Qualche disegni d’importancia’: Joris Hoefnagel als Zeichnungssammler,” *Müncher Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 38 (1987): 185–214, esp. 207.
- 12 Psalm 111:9: “Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, iustitia / Eius manet in speculum seculi.”
- 13 At the time of writing, the drawing was in the hands of Hill-Stone, Inc., South Dartmouth, Mass.
- 14 Fritz Koreny has attributed the Hill-Stone drawing to the same hand as a study sheet in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, inv. no. F64-11, as illustrated in Koreny 2012, 121, fig. 117.
- 15 Hoefnagel must not have used the second print as his model for the beggar figures in the *Roman Missal*, because the other cripple in the lower left of his folio (who kneels and supports both his hands on small stools) appears only in the original engraving.
- 16 Susan Fargo Gilchrist refers to two states of the print, the second allegedly without the “Jeronimus boss. invent[or]” inscription (Lafond 2012, 93, no. 22), but only one state has been identified by the writers of this catalogue.
- 17 For Marolles’s own catalogue of his collection, see Michel de Marolles, *Catalogue de livres d’estampes et de figures en taille douce. Avec un dénombrement des pièces qui y sont contenues* (Paris: Frederic Leonard, 1666). For further discussion of Marolles’s incorporation of the Boschian prints into his expansive collection, see Elizabeth Wyckoff, “Hieronymus Cock and the Invention of the Print Market in Antwerp,” in this volume.
- 18 “Madame le danger ou la femme s’expose, / pour contenter un peu ce naturel desir, / reçoit ce reconfort que c’est fort peu de chose / qu’un moment de douleur pour neuf mois de plaisir. / Sy les hommes voyant nos yeux, / sentent leur liberte perdue, / nous pourrions bien charmer les dieux / nous voyant ainsi toute nue.”



CAT. 4

Unknown etcher
after Hieronymus Bosch

The Tree-Man, n.d.

Etching, only state

Image: 8 3/16 in. (20.8 cm), diam.

Sheet: 9 1/16 × 11 1/4 in. (23 × 28.6 cm), trimmed within platemark, top and bottom

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 37); *Hieronymus Bosch* 1967, no. 104; Lafond 2002, no. A-4; Ilsink 2009, 84–85; Koreny 2012, 188

Bosch's tree-man is perhaps his most emblematic creation, famous not only from the hell panel of *The Garden of Earthly Delights* in Madrid but also from an autograph drawing preserved today in Vienna (cat. 4a).¹ The tree-man embodies Bosch's inventive capacities not only in its complex hybridity—its clever and uncanny merging of anthropomorphic, organic, and man-made elements—but also in its challenge to interpretation.² Its monstrous form combines various proverbial subjects that appear as individual motifs in other images by Bosch—the ship of fools, the cracked egg (symbolic of earthly vanity), the owl that ensnares the garrulous magpies gathering around him—yet the tree-man's significance cannot be reduced to any one of these.³ In Christological terms, the figure's wizened and broken form may broadly be understood as an image of sinful decrepitude, in contrast to the wood of Christ's life-giving Cross.⁴ Yet Bosch's ingenuity belies attempts to pin down a specific meaning for his fantastic creation. The question, then, is how this etching, in reprising the tree-man as motif, reflects on the artist's legacy.

Most likely executed only in the early seventeenth century, perhaps by David Vinckboons or another printmaker from his circle, the print is as much concerned with a particular invention by Bosch as with the nature of Bosch's art itself, to a degree more explicit than any other work in this exhibition.⁵ This etching was almost certainly based on Bosch's drawing now in Vienna and not on the version of the tree-man in the Madrid painting. In this respect, the *Tree-Man* etching aligns with the prints after the Boschian drawings of cripples published by Hieronymus Cock's widow and another anonymous publisher (cat. 2, 3), which served in part to disseminate knowledge of Bosch's draftsmanship and his novel approach to drawing as an independent medium. In the *Tree-Man* etching, details such as the expansive landscape, the owl, and the deer in the foreground are copied in reverse from the Vienna sheet. It is clear that the etcher has not grasped his elusive model in its entirety: the makeshift rigging that runs from the top of the ladder to the flag that juts from the tree-man's rear does not attach to the flagpole and thus falls short of capturing the wonderful tension between balance and instability in Bosch's original design.⁶ Other figures have been augmented as well: the deer in the etching has antlers, and the man at the base of the tree-man's right foot is vomiting overboard, a reflection on the excesses of the drinking party inside the monster's cracked torso. The cross on the shore in the background, just in front of the busy harbor, has also become more prominent in the print than in Bosch's own drawing.

Still more intriguing is the etching's circular format, quite distinct from its rectangular model and giving the impression that we are looking—almost as if back in time—through a telescope or porthole at Bosch's original invention. Indeed, the etcher has dramatized this sense of temporal distance and awareness of the viewer's gaze through the addition of several figures who have gathered to witness the monstrous spectacle firsthand. On the right, five adults and two children stand on the riverbank pointing to the strange giant floating on the water. Among the crowd is a man in a fool's cap and an older figure wearing glasses, suggestive of near-sightedness and inherent folly in their act of viewing. For them, Bosch's tree-man is nothing more than an amusing spectacle. Yet closer to the foreground (and thus closer to us, the viewer), a trio of onlookers are depicted as more knowing observers, both through their attributes of craft and learning and through the fact that two of the figures directly meet our gaze. The man on the far left is clearly a painter, as his brushes, maulstick, and palette indicate, and the man on the right can only be an astronomer, with compass in one hand and in the other a sextant, which he points towards the monster itself. At center sits a bearded man in a hooded garment holding a fox, which has been compellingly identified as an Aesopian figure, an allusion to the writer of fables whom the painter embraces because they share in a mutual endeavor to convey the truths of nature through their fictive creations.⁷

With a hybrid form that tropes on the balance between natural and human creation, and between natural decay and human folly, the tree-man is a perfect representative of that endeavor. In the *Temperance* engraving from Pieter Bruegel the Elder's series *The Seven Virtues*—



Cat. 4a. Hieronymus Bosch, *Tree-Man*, c. 1500.
Pen and brown ink. Albertina, Vienna



Cat. 4b. Philips Galle after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Temperance (Temperantia)*, 1560, from the series *The Seven Virtues*. Engraving. Private collection

part of the later artist's own Boschian revival through print—the need for balance and measure in pursuing all the arts becomes the central concern (cat. 4b).⁸ Whether in music, computation, performance, painting, architecture, or astronomy, all the protagonists of Bruegel's print apply themselves diligently and thoughtfully to their task. Perhaps the *Tree-Man* etching offers a similar message to those who would seek to judge the merits of Bosch's art and the works of his many imitators. Bosch may have found that precarious balance between capturing the truths of nature and venting his own imagination, but as Bosch's later commentators complained, not all those who sought to emulate his art were able to do the same.⁹ – M.B.

Notes

1 Koreny 2012, 184–89, no. 7.

2 On *Tree-Man* as Bosch's "portrait" of his own artistry, see IIsink 2009, 72–83.

3 For an attempt to interpret the tree-man along these lines, see Bax 1979, 237–42.

4 See Walter S. Gibson, "Invented in Hell: Bosch's Tree-Man," in Julien Chapius, ed., *Invention: Northern Renaissance Studies in Honor of Molly Faries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 163–73.

5 The print's link to Vinckboons was proposed in IIsink 2009, 84n184, with reference to consultation with Huigen Leeftang.

6 As noted by Joseph Koerner, "Impossible Objects: Bosch's Realism," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 46 (2004): 73–97, esp. 82.

7 See *ibid.*, 83–84; and Joseph Koerner, "Bosch's Equipment," in Lorraine Daston, ed., *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 27–65, esp. 83–85. For Bosch's potential response to Aesop's fables in his drawings *Battles of Birds and Animals*, see also Fritz Koreny, Erwin Pokorny, and Georg Zeman, *Early Netherlandish Drawings from Jan van Eyck to Hieronymus Bosch* (Antwerp: Rubenshuis, 2002), 177–81, nos. 42–43, esp. 177.

8 New Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 19).

9 For the disparaging comments on Bosch's imitators by two of those commentators, Felipe de Guevara and Fra José de Sigüenza, see my "Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as 'Inventor,'" in this volume.



CAT. 5

Alart du Hameel (b. 's-Hertogenbosch, c. 1449–d. before January 27, 1507)

Saint Christopher, n.d.

Engraving, only state

Image: 7 13/16 × 13 1/4 in. (19.9 × 33.7 cm), trimmed within platemark

Private collection, courtesy Nicholas Stogdon

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 14); Lehrs, "Verzeichniss," no. 4; Lehrs, GKK, no. 4; Stahl 1920, no. 1:72–74 and 2:189–90, no. 99; *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 91; TIB (Hameel, .004); Unverfehrt 1980, no. 4; Lafond 2002, no. 3; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 362–63

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

A [with Hameel's hallmark below]

Cristofore s[an]c[t]e virtutes su[n]t tibi ta[n]te. Qui te de mane videt, nocturno te[m]pore ridet.

bosche

Representations of St. Christopher were among the earliest known independent prints produced in the fifteenth century (p. 36, fig. 1), a tradition from which Hameel's *Saint Christopher* descends.¹ The saint's popularity stemmed in no small part from the unique powers attributed to his likeness: looking at an image of Christopher was thought to protect one not only from ill omens but also from sicknesses like the plague, and as such, medieval churches across Europe featured sculptures or murals of the saint at their exits, promising an auspicious journey to departing worshippers. Printed images functioned in the same way, and contemporary buyers may have been drawn to Hameel's engraving in part for this reason, particularly in light of the Latin inscription fluttering on the banderole at its summit: "St. Christopher, your virtues are manifold. He who sees you in the morning, smiles in the nighttime."² The positive effect of "seeing" the saint is further emphasized by the way that the Christ Child, who is seated atop Christopher's back, gestures at the Latin *videt* directly above him.

St. Christopher was a giant who converted to Christianity as a result of a circuitous quest, recounted in the medieval compendium of saints' lives known as the *Golden Legend*.³ According to the narrative, Christopher aspired to work for the greatest ruler in the world and thus sought employment with a mighty king, only to discover that the king feared a figure more powerful still: the devil. So Christopher went to work for the devil instead but soon discovered that his new master also feared a higher power, who went by the name of Christ. Determined to seek out this mysterious figure, Christopher meets a hermit who counsels that he should put himself to use ferrying passengers across a certain river, and that in time Christ would appear to him. One day, a child comes to the riverbank and asks to be ferried by the giant, who begins to carry him across but finds that his passenger becomes heavier and heavier with each step, and the waters ever rougher. When they finally reach the opposite bank, the child tells Christopher that he has just carried the creator of the world on his shoulders, thus revealing his divine identity. Christopher's name literally means "Christ-bearer," a reference not only to this first encounter at the river but also to his subsequent role as a preacher of the Christian faith.



Cat. 5a. Hieronymus Bosch, *St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child*, c. 1490–1505. Oil on panel. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Hameel's engraving is anything but a conventional devotional image, as it is overrun with all manner of violent and grotesque creatures. A fortress is besieged in the background while armored knights astride sea monsters clash amid the waves, and strange nude bodies somersault in and out of boats. St. Christopher lurches through this troubled sea, his massive body in counterpart to the strong horizontal composition. The giant's clenched brow, downturned eyes, and hunched shoulders all suggest intense concentration as he struggles against the odds to carry Christ safely to shore, gripping his knotted staff for support. A monstrously large lobster snaps a claw at his right calf, and behind him a nude figure in a dinghy—itsself shaped like an outsized human body, with limbs and genitals—attempts to unsteady the saint with his oar. The Christ Child grasps the orb of the world and makes a gesture of blessing, which—as already mentioned—leads the eye to the inscription fluttering in the sky. One would expect Christ to be blessing with his right hand, as he must have been in the original design, but this reversal through the printing process does not seem to have concerned Hameel, as the same issue arises in his engraving of the Last Judgment (cat. 12).

The teeming monstrosity of Hameel's composition distinguishes it from the more typical representations of St. Christopher, which depict the scene of his encounter with Christ as one of stillness and serenity (cat. 6). The iconography of the saint surrounded by sea monsters and sirens actually arose in the Middle Ages in images and frescoes, and it even appears in a few of the early St. Christopher prints that predate Hameel's engraving.⁴ Yet Hameel's print is exceptional in its extreme density of demonic figures, a profusion that surely conjured associations with the paintings of Bosch, regardless of whether the latter played a role in the work's design.⁵ Although doubt has been cast on the early-sixteenth-century origins of the print, there are no grounds for dating the image outside of Bosch's lifetime; indeed, the material evidence suggests that this impression is most likely printed on sixteenth-century paper.⁶

Bosch's role in inspiring the print's composition can be traced to *St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child* (cat. 5a), a painting attributed to him that itself includes several ominous and violent details embedded in its landscape background, albeit not on the scale of Hameel's engraving.⁷ The notion of the engraving's proximity to Bosch, the consummate inventor of monstrous landscapes, also must have helped foment the several painted interpretations inspired by Hameel's print, which were produced in Antwerp during the subsequent decades by Boschian imitators such as Jan Mandyn (cat. 5b, 5c).⁸ The appeal of Hameel's *St. Christopher* in later-sixteenth-century Antwerp is further witnessed within the printed oeuvre of Pieter Bruegel the Elder: the curious figure in the upper right of Hameel's engraving, who supports his protruding belly in a wheelbarrow, surfaces in the background of Bruegel's 1558 engraving *Gluttony*.⁹ The engraving *Hieronymus Bosch drollen* (p. 12, fig. 1) published by Volcxken Diericx



Cat. 5b. Jan Mandyn, *The Temptation of St. Christopher*, c. 1550. Oil on panel. Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich

may also borrow some of its monsters from Hameel's *St. Christopher*, in particular the figure in the lower left playing a trumpet with his anus and the somersaulting man nearby.

There is another important, yet more subtle, affinity that Hameel's *St. Christopher* shares with Bosch's painted oeuvre: its clever visual interpretation of the saint's narrative. As in Bosch's *St. Anthony* triptych in Lisbon (p. 18, fig. 5), the landscape of Hameel's print collapses different moments in Christopher's life within a single visual field. Most obviously, Hameel includes the familiar figure of the hermit holding a lantern, which symbolizes the hermit's role in guiding Christopher to Christ; in fact, Hameel copied this figure almost exactly from a printed initial "V" by the fifteenth-century Master E. S.¹⁰ The crazed armored men riding sea monsters also evoke Christopher's initial encounter with the devil and his entourage, who are described in the *Golden Legend* as a group of menacing knights.¹¹ Even the strange vignette of the man being bound in the lower right corner may relate to an episode from the *Legend*, which recounts that the King of Samos, threatened by Christopher's proselytizing following his conversion, sent a group of soldiers to capture the giant. Christopher allows the soldiers to tie him up and present him to the king, but only after first converting them to the Christian faith.¹² – M.B.



Cat. 5c. Anonymous Antwerp Mannerist, *St. Christopher Carrying the Infant Christ*, c. 1520. Oil on panel. Musées d'Art et d'Histoire de La Rochelle MAH.1896.1.1

Notes

- 1 See the examples in Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 86–87, no. 10; 94, no. 14; 153–56, no. 35; 159–60, no. 37; 298–300, no. 94.
- 2 This inscription also appears on an earlier anonymous woodcut of St. Christopher, for which see Ernst Konrad Stahl, *Die Legende vom Heil. Riesen Christophorus in der Graphik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: J. J. Lentner'sche Buchhandlung, 1920), 150, no. 18; and as a handwritten addition on a print associated with the Master MZ, for which see TIB (9.II, 0914.003). The same lines are also quoted by Martin Luther in his *Decem praecepta Wittenbergensi praedicata populo* (1518) in a denunciation of the superstition of Catholic image-worship and the worship of St. Christopher in particular. See Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883), 1:413.
- 3 For the original Latin, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1969), 430–34; and for English translation, see Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 2:10–14. I will quote below from a contemporary Dutch edition of the text: Jacobus de Voragine, *Passionael of Gulden Legende*, 2 vols. (Delft: Heinrich Eckert, 1499–1500). See also the fourteenth-century German verse account of Christopher's life, another potential source in the Netherlands during this period, as published in Anton Schönbach, ed., "Sanct Christophorus," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 17 (1874): 85–141; and for further background, Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, *Der H. Christophorus, seine Verehrung und seine Legende: eine Untersuchung zur Kultgeographie und Legendenbildung des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag O. Harrassowitz, 1937).
- 4 See Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955–59), 3:1311 (with reference to the fresco in the Cathedral of Bonn); Gertrud Benker, *Christophorus: Patron der Schiffer, Fuhrleute und Kraftfahrer: Legende, Verehrung, Symbol* (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey, 1975), 106–09; and for examples that both predate and postdate Hameel's engraving, see Stahl 1920, 181, no. 81; 186–87, no. 93; 200, no. 121; 208, no. 151; and 208, no. 152.
- 5 Stahl, 1920, 72–74.
- 6 For unconvincing speculation that Hameel's print is a seventeenth-century creation by Hendrick Hondius, see Susan Fargo Gilchrist, "Translator's Introduction," in Lafond 2002, 11–12. On the dating of the paper, see Nicholas Stogdon, *Early Northern Engravings, Catalogue XI* (Somerset: N. G. Stogdon, 1998), no. 48.
- 7 See Friso Lammertse, *Van Eyck to Bruegel, 1400–1500: Dutch and Flemish Painting in the Collection of the Boymans-van Beuningen* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1994), 84–89, no. 15. On the iconography of Bosch's *St. Christopher*, see also Eric de Bruyn, "The Iconography of Hieronymus Bosch's *St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child*," *Oud Holland* 118.1/2 (2005): 29–37.
- 8 See the additional related example of *Temptation of St. Christopher* in Jan Op de Beeck, et al., *De zotte schilders: moraalridders van het penseel rond Bosch, Bruegel en Brouwer* (Mechelen: Centrum voor Oude Kunst, 't Vliegend Peert, 2003), 65–71, no. 2, implausibly attributed by the authors to Jan Wellens de Cock; see also Unverfehrt 1980, nos. 104–08.
- 9 New Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 25).
- 10 See Lehrs, GKK, II.302.
- 11 Voragine, *Passionael*, 2:96v: "Dus ginc hi vanden coninc ende ginc den duvel soecken, ende doe hi door een wildnisse ginc sach hi een grote menichte van ridders ende een vanden ridders wreet ende waerlic ende quam tot hem ende vraghede hem waer hi ginge. Cristoffel antwoorde hem: ic gae soecken den heer der duvelen dat ic hem tot mij behoef tot een here nemen sal. Ende hi seide hem: ic bin den gene die du soeckes..."
- 12 Voragine, *Passionael*, 2:97v: "Ende die coninc senden cc. ridders die cristoffel vangen soudent... Ende doe si in sign zensicht saghen so leiden si: die coninc heft ons tot di gesent dass wi u gevangen brengen soudent. Cristoffel seide hem wilde ic ghi en mocht mi der niet brengen gebonden noch ongebonden... Ten sal so niet sijn sprac hy. Maer ic sal met u gaen. Ende Cristoffel bekeerdese ten gelove ende hi dede hem sijn handen op sijn rugge binden ende dede hem gebonden voor den coninc leiden."



Spicis, re sacro curvatus pondere, pinu
fuscat incertum per freta caeca palem.

Littore noctivago, prætendit lumina, mundo
Non bene canities, sed magis grata Deo.

Scilicet, et pinu fidei, verigz lucernâ, Picum
litora, caelestem tendimus in patriam. A. Koch.

CAT. 6

Unknown engraver

after “Master J. Kock”(most likely Antwerp, act. early sixteenth century)

Saint Christopher with the Christ Child, n.d.

Engraving, i/ii

Image: 10 1/16 × 12 1/2 in. (25.6 × 31.8 cm)

Platemark: 10 3/16 × 12 5/8 in. (25.9 × 32.1 cm)

Sheet: 10 3/8 × 12 3/4 in. (26.4 × 32.4 cm)

Private collection

COLLECTOR’S MARK: Unidentified mark or Gaston de Ramaix (Lugt 4099)

SELECTED LITERATURE: Stahl 1920, 2:214–15, no. 190; Unverfehrt 1980, no. 74; Lafond 2002, no. 23

INSCRIPTIONS:

in the lower margin:

Aspicis, ut sacro curvatus pondere, pinu

Fulciat incertum per freta caeca pedem,

Littore noctivago praetendit lumina, mundo

Non bene canities, sed mage grata Deo.

Scilicet, et pinu fidei, verique lucerna,

Littora, caelestem tendimus in patriam.

Pictum j. Kock.

This work stands out among the prints associated with Hieronymus Bosch for its soft execution and atmospheric landscape. The small dark spot in the upper center must have resulted from an imperfection in the plate itself; the spot appears, to varying degrees, on every known exemplar. The image is generally thought to have been printed first in Antwerp sometime between the late 1550s and 1570s and then republished in seventeenth-century Amsterdam by Cornelis Danckerts, whose name is inscribed on at least one extant impression.¹

The print here, like other earlier prints, bears no indication of its publisher, but the most plausible figure is Hieronymus Cock, who was responsible for disseminating the bulk of Boschian prints during this period and who did not always sign his name as publisher, particularly on devotional prints or on those that not he did not commission himself.² There is mention of “a copper plate of St. Christopher by Hieronymus Bosch” in the posthumous inventory of Cock’s widow, Volxcken Diericx, but the lack of an inscription identifying Bosch as “inventor” on the present *Saint Christopher* makes a connection to that specific inventory record unlikely.³ There is, however, another entry in the Diericx inventory referring simply to “a copper plate of St. Christopher,” which could be the print under discussion here.⁴

The association of the print with Antwerp and Hieronymus Cock also derives from a longstanding interpretation of the artist mentioned in the inscription—“j. Kock,” the one who painted (*pictum*) the composition—as Jan Wellens de Cock, the early sixteenth-century Antwerp painter who was the father of Matthijs Cock and of Hieronymus himself.⁵ However, the oeuvre of Jan Wellens de Cock remains tenuous and difficult to construct, in part because much past scholarly discussion of the artist is built on the foundations of this *Saint Christopher* print.



Cat. 6a. Master J. Kock, *St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child*, c. 1520. Oil on panel.
Private collection, London

Following the most recent scholarship, the designer is simply identified here as “Master J. Kock,” to whom the painting *Mount of Calvary* (c. 1520) in the Rijksmuseum and two extant painted versions of this composition have been tentatively attributed (cat. 6a).⁶ The painted versions explain the unusual use of the Latin *pictum* rather than the more typical formulation of *invenit*, or “inventor,” to credit the print’s authorship. Questions of attribution aside, it seems likely that the print descends from an early-sixteenth-century painting produced in Antwerp and that it was not designed initially as an engraving.

As for the print’s relation to Bosch (who, as already mentioned, is not named here as inventor), its affinity with the artist, to the extent that it exists at all, lies in the choice of subject and in certain details of the composition.

St. Christopher is depicted bearing the Christ Child and the orb of the world on his hunched back, as he leans on his staff and wades through choppy waves, his long cloak trailing behind him on the surface of the water. The translucent globe is divided, according to the old medieval schema, into three quadrants, representing Africa, Asia, and Europe, and the diminutive Christ Child atop it raises his hand to greet the aged hermit on shore, who shines his lantern at their approach. As recounted in the *Golden Legend*, Christopher built the tree house, pictured in the upper right, when the hermit instructed him to serve as ferryman at the riverbank and await Christ’s arrival.⁷ A similar tree house likewise appears in Bosch’s painting of St. Christopher in Rotterdam (cat. 5a), including the details of the strange hanging jug and white shirt.

The Latin inscription at the base of the engraving plays on the juxtaposition of dark and light, the earthly realm and the divine, urging the viewer to look upon the scene and recognize its meaning: “You behold that he has bent under the sacred load; / through blind straits, he supports his unsteady footing with a staff. / The gray-haired one holds out his light from the shore wandered by night, / not by way of the world but by the grace of God. / And so it is that by the staff of faith, and the lantern of truth, / we strive towards the shores into the heavenly country.” As the legend holds, when Christopher reached the shore, Christ instructed him to plant his staff in the earth, and it sprouted leaves and fruit—a symbol of the Lord’s life-giving powers.

In the background of the engraving, just beyond the little bell hanging below St. Christopher’s tree house, an execution site and a ship seemingly about to capsize convey the dangers of the seas that the saint traverses. A large whale is beached on the shore in the background as well, where a group of men with ladders are scaling its body and appear to be extracting oil from its belly. The massive creature may be a prefiguration of Christ’s passion or a reference to the actual phenomenon of beached whales along Netherlandish shores, which Albrecht Dürer mentions in the diary of his 1520–21 visit to the Low Countries.⁸ However, the whale with the tiny figures clamoring around it might also be seen to relate to Christopher himself as a giant weighed down by the deceptively tiny Christ Child and as a preacher of the faith who once allowed himself to be tied up by soldiers for the sake of converting them to Christianity. The proverbial relation between big fish and little fish appears as a leitmotif in other paintings of the saint inspired by Bosch and produced in early-sixteenth-century Antwerp (cat. 5c). Famously, Pieter Bruegel the Elder chose the proverb as the subject for his seminal Boschian invention, the engraving *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (cat. 11). – M.B.

Notes

1 This impression is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, CC3-(A)-Fol, inv. no. 40343480, and inscribed “C. Danckerts exc[udit].”

2 See Joris van Grieken, “Establishing and Marketing a Publisher’s List,” in van Grieken et al 2013, 22–29, esp. 23–24.

3 Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols. (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Kunstwetenschappen, 1984–2009), 1:29: “Een coperen plaete van Sinte-Christoffel van Jheronimus Bos.” All the other references to plates explicitly by Bosch in the inventory can be related to prints inscribed “Hieronymus Bosch inventor.”

4 Ibid., 32: “Een coperen plaete van eenen Sinte-Christoffel.”

5 For full historiography, see Christiaan Vogelaar, et al., *Lucas van Leyden en de renaissance* (Leiden: Museum de Lakenhal, 2011), 108–09; and especially Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Walter Gibson, and Yvette Bruijnen, *Cornelis Engebrechtsz: A Sixteenth-Century Leiden Artist and His Workshop* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 5–9.

6 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-4921. For the painted versions of *St. Christopher*, both of which currently reside in private collections, see Vogelaar, *Lucas van Leyden*, nos. 20–21; and Alain Tapié and Michel Weemans, *Fables du paysage flamand: Bosch, Bles, Brueghel, Bril* (Lille: Palais des Beaux Arts, 2012), 156–57, nos. 14–15. See also the forthcoming study on the Master J. Kock by Jan Piet Filedt Kok.

7 For full discussion of the narrative of St. Christopher from the *Golden Legend*, see cat. 5.

8 Albrecht Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass*, ed. H. Rupprich, 3 vols. (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956–69), 1:162. As suggested in Tapié and Weemans, *Fables du paysage flamand*, 152–53, no. 12; 156–57, nos. 14–15.



De goede Sint Marten is hier gesiet : onder al dit Cruy Nuyt arm gespuys : haer denylende synen mantel inde siede Va gelt : nou verbrist om de proije dit quat gedruys

CAT. 7

Joannes van Doetecum the Elder (b. Deventer, act. 1554–d. 1605, Antwerp)
and Lucas van Doetecum (b. Deventer, act. 1554–d. before 1589)
in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

Saint Martin with His Horse in a Ship, n.d.

Etching and engraving, i/iii

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image: 13 5/16 × 17 in. (33.8 × 43.2 cm), trimmed within platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: New Hollstein (The Van Doetecum Family, no. 217); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 96; De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 62; Riggs 1977, no. 10; Unverfehrt 1980, no. 230; Vandenbroeck 1987, 59–60; Koldeweij et al. 2001, 115–16; Vandenbroeck 2002, 59–61; Lafond 2002, no. 14; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 381–82; Luttikhuisen 2010, no. 30; Koreny 2012, 308; Van Grieken et al. 2013, no. 65

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

S. MARTINI

H. COCK EXC[UDIT]

Iheronimus bos inue[n]tor

in the lower margin:

De[n] goede[n] Sinte Marten is hier gestelt: onder al dit Cruelp[en], Vuijl arm gespijs: haer deijlende sijnen mantele inde stede va[n] gelt; nou vechte[n] se om de proije, dit quaet gedruijs

At first glance, the composition of this print seems remarkably disorganized. Were it not for the inscription identifying the divine figure at the center of the scene as St. Martin, his presence might remain obscure. The saint is further rescued from obscurity in another impression of the print, now conserved in the Rijksmuseum, in which his cloak has been hand-colored red to make him stand out amid the chaos.¹

St. Martin was an officer in the Roman army who became a combatant against devils and heretics. His name is derived from Mars, the Roman god of war. The most famous episode in his life occurred upon his departure through the city gate of Amiens during winter, when he encountered a poor man who had been refused alms by another passerby.² Martin cut his cloak in two with his sword and gave half to the beggar. That night, he saw a vision of Christ wearing the beggar's cloak and praising Martin's act of charity. Thereafter Martin converted and went on to become a defender of the weak and impoverished. He earned the title of bishop when the people of Tours begged him to be their spiritual leader, and he further revealed his holiness by driving away demons, taming wild animals, and enduring extreme penance.

The haloed saint in this print perches calmly at the end of a vessel, sword in one hand and his long cloak draped over his right arm as he prepares to divide and share it with a beggar on the shore. His horse stands still beside him in the center of a boat, but nearly all the remaining figures in the image are in a state of frenetic, if not drunken, disarray. An old beggar atop St. Martin's steed makes a mockery of a proper mount by putting his hand rather than foot in the stirrup and thrashing his own behind with a stick. In the background just past the saint, a stocky figure wearing armor pokes his spear at another mock soldier



Cat. 7a. Attributed to Philips Galle, *Hope (Spes)*, 1559–60, from the series *The Seven Virtues*. Engraving. Private collection

drowning in the water. The diagonal of the spear parallels that of Martin's cloak yet embodies the antithesis of his merciful act: cruelty rather than charity. Towards the background right, another boat weighted down by barrels of booze ferries an entourage who are variously drinking and vomiting overboard; the feast of St. Martin, held every year on November 11, was celebrated by all social classes with inebriated merrymaking.³

One could catalogue the lewd and violent engagement with drinking vessels, crutches, and musical instruments in this engraving quite literally *ad nauseam*. Indeed, the inscription in the lower margin offers a most unsympathetic reading of this raucous consort: “The good St. Martin is shown here, among all these foul cripples, poor riff-raff; dividing his mantle in the place of money; now this angry mob fights over the prize.” As in other Boschian compositions (cat. 5, 8), as well as in Bosch's own paintings, such as his triptych *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (p. 18, fig. 5), the viewer must work to discover signs of genuine faith amid the turbulence and turpitude of the crowd. The heron standing in the water just below Martin's cloak may refer to an anecdote from the *Golden Legend* describing the saint's encounter with a group of water birds diving for fish. Martin compared the birds to devils who creep up on their foolish and unwitting victims then capture and devour them; the saint ordered the birds to leave the fish and migrate elsewhere, a command they obeyed.⁴ Indeed, the saint's gesture of sharing his cloak is an endeavor to save one crippled soul from the devil's clutches. St. Martin strives for victory over the evil forces in the world, and like the two owls depicted on the left side of the composition, he sees beyond the relentless folly that surrounds him. Herein lies the print's true message.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Hope (Spes)* (cat. 7a), from his engraved series *The Seven Virtues*, shares a striking compositional affinity with this print; as both were published by Hieronymus Cock around the same time, the relationship is presumably not coincidental.⁵ Bruegel's allegorical figure, with arm outstretched like St. Martin, stands calmly amid waves, sinking ships, and desperate men flailing in the water, including a man at her feet who is evocative of a Boschian cripple. A recently rediscovered painting by Bruegel on canvas, *The Wine of St. Martin's Day* (c. 1565–68), now in the Prado, further demonstrates Bruegel's own interest in this subject and evinces his likely engagement with the print published by Cock.⁶ In the *Saint Martin* print, the acrobatic collection of cripples posing in the foreground also recalls the recurrent presence of such figures in other works by or associated with Bosch (cat. 2, 3). Ample evidence points to a lost composition by Bosch himself, or to a work very closely connected to him, that depicted the saint's plight. Three paintings identified as representations of St. Martin and attributed to the artist appear in the 1598–1607 estate of Philip II of Spain; the 1621 inventory of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague also lists a painting of "Saint Martin among the beggars by Hieronymus Bosch."⁷ Of course, there is no way to know whether these paintings were executed by the artist or one of his followers, particularly as the inventories date long after Bosch's death, but there is another reference from the early sixteenth century that is more proximate. A series of five tapestries based on Bosch's works, produced in Brussels sometime around 1530–40, included representations of St. Anthony and St. Martin,



Cat. 7b. Anonymous, *St. Martin*, before 1542. Tapestry. Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real, Madrid

as well as *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, *The Haywain*, and *The Besieged Elephant* (see cat. 15). The tapestries are exceptional as a set in that their principal unifying theme is not a historical or biblical narrative but solely their shared origins as Boschian inventions. The earliest reference to the series dates to 1542 in the collection of the French king Francis I, though Cardinal Granvelle and the Duke of Alva are also known to have owned copies. An incomplete set survives today in the Spanish Royal Collection and includes the tapestry depicting St. Martin heckled by cripples as he departs the gates of a city on his horse (cat. 7b).⁸ The compositions of the tapestry and the print under discussion here verge significantly, such that it is impossible to ascertain to what extent either accurately reflects an original design by Bosch.

The popularity of the St. Martin theme in both courtly circles and the broader art market was enduring. This print was reissued in the early seventeenth century by Theodoor Galle (cat. 7c), who must have purchased the plate from the inventory of Hieronymus Cock's widow.⁹ Galle's name appears in place of Cock's *excudit* in the lower right, and a French inscription—much along the lines of the original text in the lower margin—was added at the top, exhorting the viewer to contemplate the erroneous ways of these cripples who blindly revel in deformity and conflict.¹⁰ A further explanatory line has also been added at the bottom of the page, accounting for the print's unusual depiction of so many beggars fighting over the saint's cloak: "Saint Martin intended to do charity for the poor, but caused with his mantle a battle among the deformed."¹¹ – M.B.



Cat. 7c. Joannes van Doetecum the Elder and Lucas van Doetecum in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *Saint Martin with His Horse in a Ship*, n.d. Etching and engraving, state ii/iii. Private collection

Notes

- 1 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-08-103.852. This is an impression of the print's second state, for which see discussion below.
- 2 Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1969), 741–50; and for English translation, see Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 2:292–300. For the Dutch, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Passionael of Gulden Legende*, 2 vols. (Delft: Heinrich Eckert, 1499–1500), 2:15v–19v.
- 3 See Martin W. Walsh, “‘Martín y muchos pobres’: Grotesque Versions of the Charity of St. Martin in the Bosch and Bruegel Schools,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 14 (1998): 107–20; and Erwin Pokorny, “Bosch’s Cripples and Drawings by His Imitators,” *Master Drawings* 41.3 (2003): 301–02.
- 4 Voragine, *Passionael*, 2:18v: “Daer hy voir daer sach hi inder rivieren hoc de dukelers die visschen vinghen. Ende hi seide dat is die manier vanden duvelen. Si laghen na dye ghene die hen niet en hoeden ende vaense dat sy des niet en weten. En als sise gevanghen hebben so verslinden sise ende si en worden niet versaet vanden ghenen die si verslinden ende verswelghen.”
- 5 New Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 14).
- 6 Museo del Prado, Madrid, inv. no. P08040. There is also a fragment that copies the right side of the composition in Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum, dated c. 1580–1600. See Pilar Silva Maroto and Manfred Sellink, “The Rediscovery of Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s ‘Wine of St. Martin’s Day,’ Acquired for the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid,” *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (2011): 784–93.
- 7 Paul Vandenbroeck, “The Spanish *inventarios reales* and Hieronymus Bosch,” in Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet, and Barbera van Kooij, eds, *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 54: “Un lienço de Hierónimo Bosco, de Sanct Martin y muchos pobres,” “Otro lienzo de borrón de Sanct Martin con muchos pobres y otros disparates de Hierónimo Bosco,” “Otro lienzo de borrón, blanco y negro, de Sanct Martin con muchos pobres y disparates de Hierónimo Bosco.” For Rudolf II’s inventory, see Heinrich Zimmermann, “Das Inventar der Prager Schatz- und Kunstkammer vom 6. Dezember 1621,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 25 (1905): XLI, no. 986: “Sanct Martin under den petlern vom Hieronymo Boß.” See also a related drawing dated c. 1560–80 in Koreny 2012, 308–11, no. 30.
- 8 Otto Kurz, “Four Tapestries after Hieronymus Bosch,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967): 150–62; Paul Vandenbroeck, “Meaningful Caprices: Folk Culture, Middle-Class Ideology (ca. 1480–1510) and Aristocratic Recuperation (ca. 1530–1570),” *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (2009): 212–69. Paulina Junquera de Vega and Concha Herrero Carretero, *Catalogo de tapices del Patrimonio Nacional*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, 1986), 1:264–67; Guy Delmarcel, et al., *Gewirkt in Gold: Flämische Tapiserien aus dem Besitz der Spanischen Krone* (Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1993), 96–99, no. 14, with illustration. Note that both of the last two references unconvincingly identify the subject as *St. Anthony Leaving the City* and make no reference to the *Saint Martin* print.
- 9 See Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols. (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Kunstwetenschappen, 1984–2009), 1:29: “Een coperen plaete van Sinte-Merten van Jheronimus Bosch.”
- 10 “La vie joyeuse et sans soucis des estropiez / Contemple ung peu tous ces boiteux / Au beau milieu de leur misère / Rire et danser estre joyeux / Sans se soucier de la guerre.”
- 11 “SAINCT MARTIN pensant faire aux pauvres charité / Causa par son manteaux la guerre aux estropiez.”



CAT. 8

Joannes van Doetecum the Elder (b. Deventer, act. 1554–d. 1605, Antwerp)
and Lucas van Doetecum (b. Deventer, act. 1554–d. before 1589)
in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

Temptation of Saint Christopher (or Temptation of Saint Anthony), 1561

Etching and engraving, i/ii

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Sheet: 13 3/16 × 16 15/16 in. (33.5 × 43 cm), trimmed to image

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: New Hollstein (The Van Doetecum Family, no. 216); De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 56; Riggs 1977, no. 9; Lafond 2002, no. 13; Ilsink 2009, 208–10; Van Grieken et al., no. 64

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

HIERONIMUS BOS INVE[NIT]

H. Cock excu[dit] 1561

in the lower margin:

MULTAE TRIBULATIONES IUSTORUM DE OMNIBUS IIS LIBERABIT EOS DOMINUS. PSAL. 33.

Published by Hieronymus Cock and dated precisely to 1561, this image emerged during the most active years of Bosch's renaissance in print, and its dubious subject and authorship are representative of that phenomenon at large. Not only is the identity of the work's protagonist disputed, there is no evidence to support the inscription's claim that Hieronymus Bosch invented the work. Unlike some of the prints issued by Cock that plausibly originated with compositions by Bosch himself, such as *The Besieged Elephant* (cat. 16) and *Saint Martin with His Horse in a Ship* (cat. 7), this print appears to be very much a mid-century creation designed to feed the ample market for Boschian images.

An interesting document of the print's reception is found in an impression of the second state: the identifying inscription "Saint Anthony" (*S. Antonius*) has been added directly below the left arm of the saint who kneels on the right side of the print, and numbers appended to numerous details in the image suggest that there may have once been accompanying descriptions explaining their significance.¹ On the basis of this second state, it was long assumed that the image was meant to depict St. Anthony. Indeed, the figure's pose recalls that of the saint in Bosch's triptych *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon (p. 18, fig. 5), and Pieter Bruegel the Elder's own 1556 engraving *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (cat. 8a)—with which the present print has an overall compositional affinity—was published by Cock with the same verse from Psalms in its lower margin.²

More recently, however, it has been asserted that the print was originally meant to depict the Temptation of St. Christopher.³ An essential iconographical key is the hermit holding a lantern over his head on the far left; diminutive in size compared to the ruminating figure on the opposite riverbank, it was just such a hermit who, according to the accounts of the saint's life, helped guide Christopher to Christ.⁴ Another telling detail is the fish tucked into the saint's belt, a symbol of Christ that appears as an attribute of Christopher in Bosch's

own painting of the saint (cat. 5a).⁵ This print has also been plausibly identified as the “copper plate of St. Christopher by Hieronymus Bosch” listed in the inventory drawn up after the death of Cock’s widow.⁶

Several paintings seemingly derived from the print that were produced in Antwerp during the latter half of the sixteenth century do indeed represent Christopher rather than Anthony and seem to affirm that the composition’s subject was first interpreted along these lines.⁷ Jan Mandyn’s *Temptation of St. Christopher* (cat. 5b), for instance, shows the saint both wading through the waters in the foreground and similarly reclined in contemplation as he awaits the arrival of Christ in the background. The overstuffed compositions of these Antwerp paintings may also recall the precedent of Alart du Hameel’s early-sixteenth-century *Saint Christopher* engraving (cat. 5), with its depiction of siege, drunkenness, and monstrous staffage, and with its emphasis on Christopher’s resolve in the face of temptation and impediment. Aside from the similarity to the pose of Bosch’s *St. Anthony* in Lisbon and Hameel’s precedent, much of the imagery in this print seems firmly grounded in the mid-sixteenth century. Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s engraving *Patience (Patientia)* (cat. 8b) bears mention here.⁸ The representation of the saint (whether interpreted as Christopher or Anthony) waiting calmly in the midst of a demonic ruckus is emblematic of that virtue, and details such as the corpse floating on the water, the makeshift tree house, and the fish on shore—with human figures emerging from its bowels—appear in both prints.⁹ At the same time, the figures surrounding the fish-shaped battleship in the background, drinking and cavorting on dinghies, are attired in mid-century costumes unlike anything in Bosch’s oeuvre.



Cat. 8a. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, 1556. Engraving. Private collection

Given the foremost emphasis in the present print on the chaotic landscape, and the fact that it does not represent the familiar moment of Christopher ferrying the Christ Child across the river, the confusion between St. Christopher and St. Anthony is more than justified. Both men were saints whose lives provided a platform for Bosch and his imitators to explore the representation of wicked creatures and hellish landscapes, and perhaps it is that interest, rather than strict adherence to a traditional iconography, that took precedence in this work. As the numbering on the later state of this image suggests, part of the print's long-term appeal was precisely its invitation to sort through the rabble and identify the meaning behind the composition's myriad Boschian details. – M.B.



Cat. 8b. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Patience (Patientia)*, 1557, from the series *The Seven Virtues*. Engraving. Private Collection

Notes

1 Repairs to the London impression also indicate an Italian provenance of uncertain date: one piece of paper with the handwritten inscription “in Venetiam” and another with a printed list of place names in Florence are pasted on its reverse.

2 New Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 10).

3 Matthijs IJink, “Bosch, Bruegel and the Netherlandish Tradition,” in van Grieken et al. 2013, 252–53, no. 64; and IJink, “Stukjes en beetjes: Bruegel & Bosch, Antonius & Christoffel,” *Disipientia* 8.2 (2001): 30–37, esp. 35–37.

4 For further discussion of the life of St. Christopher, see cat. 5.

5 See discussion in Eric de Bruyn, “The Iconography of Hieronymus Bosch’s *St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child*,” *Oud Holland* 118.1/2 (2005): 29–37, esp. 31.

6 Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols. (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Kunstwetenschappen, 1984–2009), 1:29: “Een koperen plaete van Sinte-Christoffel van Jheronimus Bos.”

7 Unverfehrt 1980, no. 137.

8 New Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 20).

9 The tree house is also part of the iconography of St. Christopher and appears in Bosch’s own Rotterdam painting of that subject as well as several other representations of his narrative associated with the artist (see discussion in cat. 6).



CAT. 9

Unknown engraver

after Pieter Huys (Antwerp, act. mid-sixteenth century)

Temptation of Saint Anthony, n.d.

Engraving, ii/ii

Published by Pierre Firens, Paris

Image: 8 7/16 × 6 1/2 in. (21.4 × 16.5 cm)

Sheet: 8 7/16 × 6 1/2 in. (21.4 × 16.5 cm), trimmed to and within platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 12); Lafond 2002, no. 37

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

Petr. Firens excud[it]

in the lower margin:

Qui non est tentatus, quid scit.

This engraving of St. Anthony has a complex publishing history dating back to the early 1570s. The work's repeated reissue over subsequent decades attests to the high demand for images depicting the saint and the hellish torments he endured.¹ The present impression was published by Petrus, or Pierre Firens, who was born to a French family in Antwerp around 1580 and was active in that city until the turn of the seventeenth century, when he moved his business to Paris.² However, inspecting his inscription on this work reveals that an earlier publisher's signature, scratched out by Firens, once occupied its place. An impression of a preceding state inscribed "H. Liefrinck excud[it]" indicates that the publisher Hans Liefrinck was responsible for the first dissemination of this particular engraving in Antwerp.³ There were two Antwerp publishers by this name, both of whom inscribed prints with the signature used here, and they are known today as Hans Liefrinck I and II; the latter died in 1573, while the former remained active well into the 1580s.⁴

Further complicating the print's history is another version of its composition, engraved by Johannes Wierix and slightly smaller in scale, which also survives in a few extant impressions.⁵ The original publisher of this version is unknown. The Wierix print is reversed such that the saint makes the gesture of blessing with his left hand rather than his right. This reversal does not conclusively indicate that it is a copy after the larger rendition of the composition; in fact, its execution is somewhat less wooden and forced than that of the engraving later published by Firens, which might instead indicate that Wierix's engraving came first.

The smaller print is inscribed with the initials "IW" for Johannes Wierix (an abbreviation that the engraver seems to have used predominantly during 1571–73).⁶ Significantly, it also includes the letters "PH" for Pieter Huys, one of the most prolific imitators of Bosch in mid-century Antwerp.⁷ In addition to his primary activity as a painter, Huys designed and engraved prints as well, including book illustrations for the Plantin Press.⁸ Especially relevant is that Huys collaborated on a handful of retrospective prints, including two published by Hans Liefrinck I sometime before 1573: *Christ on the Cross*, which recalls the models of

Dieric Bouts and Martin Schongauer, as well as *The Annunciation*, which also appears indebted to an early Netherlandish master.⁹ Wierix and his family of engravers were likewise active in producing and publishing many copies after earlier artists, most notably after Albrecht Dürer. All this suggests that the present engraving has its origins in a later-sixteenth-century collaboration between a designer, engraver, and publisher who were busily fueling Antwerp's market demand for works by famous artists of the preceding decades.

The attribution to Huys as designer may account for why the inscription "Hieronymus Bosch inventor" does not appear on any version of the engraving, as it does on the majority of prints discussed in this catalogue.¹⁰ Huys presents an interesting case of an artist who worked loosely in the Boschian mode but who drew on other models besides that of Bosch. More than a mere epigone of Bosch, Huys seems to have earned something of a name in his own right. The question then arises: to what extent was this engraving constructed and perceived in relation to Bosch at all?

One might compare the print's composition to Martin Schongauer's famous late-fifteenth-century engraving *The Tribulations of St. Anthony* (cat. 9a), which was an important precursor to Bosch's inventive approach to devilish subjects. Anthony's temptation was just one of the many devil-incited tribulations the saint endured. Schongauer's circular composition,



Cat. 9a. Martin Schongauer, *The Tribulations of St. Anthony*, c. 1470–73. Engraving. Private collection

which innovates in showing the saint carried aloft by monsters that torment him from all sides, had a significant impact both in Germany and the Netherlands, and on Bosch himself.¹¹ Schongauer's print was also copied in reverse by Raphael de Mey and republished around 1590 with additional inscriptions, including the phrase "Martin S. inventor" as well as the same line from Ecclesiastes that appears at the base of the Huys engraving: "He who has not been tried, what does he know?"¹² For contemporary viewers, Huys's composition here might have conjured an association with Schongauer just as readily as it did with Bosch himself.

At the same time, Huys's *Temptation of Saint Anthony* portrays the saint seated rather than suspended in the air, with a long beard and a gleaming halo, and accompanied by creeping hybrid monsters of a more distinctly Boschian character. He cradles a book in his lap, in which he seems to have been immersed before the demons arrived. He looks up from the volume and gestures in blessing to ward off the ghastly spirits that have accosted him. Huys's numerous painted renditions of the Temptation of St. Anthony, which vary widely in their composition, trace their origins back, in varying degrees, to Bosch's triptych *Temptation of St. Anthony* (p. 18, fig. 5), although they also draw on the models of Antwerp artists such as Joachim Patinir.¹³ Comparison to a 1577 painting signed with Huys's own name reveals striking parallels with the design of the Lieftrinck/Firens engraving.¹⁴ As in Bosch's *St. Anthony* triptych, Huys portrays an armed group of tormenters entering from the left, including a helmeted figure on horseback almost identical to the figure on the far left side of the engraving. He also portrays several figures making grotesque offerings to the saint beside the table on the right; their faces and poses resurface in the print as well. The engraving condenses all these figures into a much narrower vertical space, but the essential compositional elements—including the background tree and burning buildings in the distance—remain the same. Huys's 1577 painting further points to an original publication date of the print itself as sometime in the 1570s.

In addition to this engraving, Huys produced the design for another print, *Scenes from the Life of St. Anthony* (c. 1560–80), which borrows the dilapidated house in the background of the 1577 painting for its composition.¹⁵ It has been posited that Huys was involved as well in the design of the engraving *The Last Judgment (Triptych)* (cat. 14), published by Hieronymus Cock and ascribed to Bosch.¹⁶ Regardless, Bosch's Lisbon triptych, which was by far his most imitated composition, might be said to serve as a distant point of reference for Huys's engraving here.

Indeed, like Bosch before him, Huys makes clever reference in his composition to various episodes from Anthony's life and the saint's cult of devotion. In the background right, the burning buildings recall the debilitating disease of ergotism, known in the Middle Ages as "St. Anthony's fire," which was caused by consuming grains infected with fungus and which the saint himself was thought to help cure.¹⁷ The strange figure with a fish head in the foreground that is swallowing a ladder might recall a story from Athanasius's life of St. Anthony, which tells how his colleagues once ascended ladders to his chamber when they heard a cacophony emanating from his cell, only to discover that it was a swarm of tormenting demons.¹⁸

The engraving also seems to focus on a specific event from Anthony's tribulations mentioned in St. Jerome's fourth-century life of the hermit St. Paul. Jerome describes a moment in Anthony's wanderings when he was approached by "a homunculus with hooked snout, horns on his fierce forehead, and bodily extremities that devolved into goat's feet," who offers the saint "fruits of the palm tree" in a seeming gesture of peace, but St. Anthony, recognizing the creature's hypocrisy and lack of true faith in God, escapes the snares of its wicked gifts and entreaties.¹⁹ The figure directly to St. Anthony's left with horns on its head and a beaked nose might well represent this disingenuous homunculus. The birdlike demon directly to Anthony's right also offers him a round object on a plate that might be associated with the palm fruit mentioned in the story, while yet another diminutive horned monster at Anthony's feet likewise gestures with a fruit that resembles the strawberries in the central panel of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Figures presenting false offerings to Anthony appear already in Bosch's Lisbon triptych and in numerous subsequent painted and printed representations of the saint. The narrative of Anthony's temptation by the horned satyr or homunculus even enjoyed a place in Pierre Boaistuau's *Prodigious Histories* (cat. 9b), an encyclopedic study of monstrous events first produced as an illuminated manuscript then printed in Paris in 1560 and disseminated in several subsequent French and Dutch editions.²⁰

Thus, even if not ascribed to Bosch as inventor, the engraving here participates simultaneously in a longstanding fascination with St. Anthony's torments and in the oft-complex chain of influences and associations that characterize Bosch's extensive afterlife. – M.B.



Cat. 9b. Pierre Boaistuau, *Monstre lequel fortuitement apparut a S. Anthoine*, from *Histoires Prodigieuses*, 1560. Wellcome Library, London

Notes

- 1 For an overview of the visual tradition, see Michael Philipp, et al., *Schrecken und Lust: Die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius von Hieronymus Bosch bis Max Ernst* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2008).
- 2 Maxime Préaud, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancient Régime* (Paris: Promodis, Editions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1987), 125–27.
- 3 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 59.570.442.
- 4 Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, Fifteenth Century to 1585* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1998), 61–66, and passim.
- 5 New Hollstein (The Wierix Family, no. 1335); and Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, ed., *Les estampes de Wierix conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er*, 3 vols. (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, 1978–83), 2:1067. The Wierix engraving measures 5 1/2 × 4 in. (14 × 10.3 cm).
- 6 New Hollstein (The Wierix Family), "Introduction," xv.
- 7 *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon: Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 76 (Munich: Saur, 1992–), 96–97; see also Larry Silver, "Second Bosch: Family Resemblance and the Marketing of Art," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999): 31–56, esp. 34–39.
- 8 Daan van Heesch, "New Evidence on Pieter Huys as a Draughtsman and Designer of Prints," *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 37 (2014): 2–11; Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, "Reputation and Wage: The Case of Engravers Who Worked for the Plantin-Moretus Press," *Simiolus* 30.3/4 (2003): 161–95; and *ibid.*, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 342–44.
- 9 For the *Christ on the Cross*, see Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-OB-100.049. The Rijksmuseum also houses the original pen-and-ink drawing that Huys created in preparation for the print (inv. no. RP-T-1938-32). For the first and second states of *The Annunciation*, see British Museum, London, inv. nos. 1846,0509.114 and E,7.260.+. See also Hollstein (Huys nos. 11–12). Note that the dating on these prints is somewhat conflicted in the online catalogues of both museums, likely as a result of confusion between Hans Lieftrink I and II.
- 10 It is worth noting that Paul Lafond was not always exacting in his choice of works that he included in his original 1914 catalogue of the prints after Bosch.
- 11 For the reception of Schongauer's print in the Low Countries, see Jean Michel Massing, "Schongauer's *Tribulations of St. Anthony*: Its Iconography and Influence on German Art," *Print Quarterly* 1.4 (1984): 221–36, esp. 235–36.
- 12 Ecclesiastes 34:9. Raphael de Mey after Martin Schongauer, *The Tribulations of St. Anthony*, c. 1590, engraving, published by Johannes Bus. See Lehrs, GKK, 5:249, no. 54f.
- 13 Silver, "Second Bosch," 35–37; Unverfehrt 1980, 180–86.
- 14 Joz. de Coe, *Museum Mayer van den Bergh, catalogus 1: schilderijen, verluchte handschriften, tekeningen* (Antwerp: Museum Mayer van den Bergh, 1978), 78–79, no. 25, fig. 42; Unverfehrt 2002, no. 128.
- 15 Heesch, "New Evidence," 5–8, fig. 6. Heesch identifies only two surviving impressions of this engraving, one in the Rijksmuseum and the other at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, but another impression, seemingly of a later state, is also preserved in the New York Public Library's *Journal des Saintes* (in the "January" volume), inscribed with "Jan Tye!" as publisher.
- 16 Heesch, "New Evidence," 3–4.
- 17 See discussion in Andrée Hayum, *The Isenheim Altarpiece: God's Medicine and the Painter's Vision* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 13–21; and also Veit Harold Bauer, *Das Antonius-Feuer in Kunst und Medizin* (Basel: Historische Schriftenreihe Sanoz, 1973).
- 18 J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1887), XXVI, col. 862–63.
- 19 J.-P. Migne, ed., "Vita S. Pauli primi eremita," in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1883), XXIII, col. 17–30, esp. 23–24: "inter saxosam convallem haud grandem homunculum videt, aduncis naribus, fronte cornibus asperata, cuius extrema pars corporis in caprarum pedes desinebat. Ad hoc Antonius spectaculum, scutum fidei et loricam spei, ut bonus praeliator, arripuit: nihilominus memoratum animal, palmarum fructus eidem ad viaticum, quasi pacis obsides, offerebat."
- 20 For the printed editions, see Pierre Boaistuau, *Histoires prodigieuses extraites de plusieurs fameux auteurs* (Paris: Vincent Sertenas Libraire, 1560); and *ibid.*, *Het wonderlijcke Schadt-Boeck der historien, begripende vele seldtsame, vremde ende wonderbaerlijcke gheschiedenissen bevonden in de Natueren, ende hare kracht en werckinghen zoo in den Menschen als inde Beesten, Elementen, enz.* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1596). See also Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955–59), 3:1112 for earlier manifestations of this iconography of Anthony and the satyr figure.



Vincitur in leno petrum plebali tumultu
Pontius atq; lupis agnum dat praeses iniquus

Cumq; datus laevis ad portum sanctus abiret
Milibus chlamydem rubri sub regimine coci

Vellitur vilem species ut cuncta cuncte
Mortis imago foret. spūs circumdedit alium

Nexa corona caput, quoniam spineta benignus
Omnia nolitorum lukeperat ille malorum.

CAT. 10

Attributed to Cornelis Cort (b. Hoorn, 1533–d. before March 17, 1578, Rome)
after Lambert Lombard (b. Liège, c. 1505/06–d. 1566, Liège)

Christ Carrying the Cross, n.d.

Engraving, i/iv

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image: 12 3/4 × 16 1/16 in. (32.4 × 40.8 cm)

Platemark: 12 13/16 × 16 1/8 in. (32.5 × 41 cm)

Sheet: 16 1/4 × 21 3/4 in. (41.3 × 55.2 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 6); Hollstein (Cock, no. 131); New Hollstein (Cort, no. 62);
De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 43; Lafond 2002, no. 11; Van Grieken et al. 2013, nos. 74a–b

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

H. Cock excu[dit]

Hieron. Bos invenit.

L. Lomb. restituit.

in the lower margin:

Vincitur in sano [read “insano”] patrum plebisque tumultu

Pontius, atque lupis agnum dat praeses iniquus

Cumque datus saevis, ad poenam sanctus abiret

Militibus chlamydem rubri subregmine cocci

Vestitur vilem, species ut cuncta cruentae

Mortis imago foret, spinis circumdedit alium [read “amplum”]

Nexa corona caput, quoniam spineta benignus

Omnia nostrorum suscepit ille malorum.

This crowded image depicts Christ’s procession to Calvary from the city gates on the right counterclockwise towards the site of the Crucifixion in the distant left. Christ appears in the center, fallen down to one knee beneath the Cross, as the elderly Simon of Cyrene stoops to help him. The Good Thief follows in the crowd behind. The faces of the three men rhyme in their parallel three-quarter position and in the serenity of their downturned expressions, marking them as pious figures amid the mob. By contrast, the Bad Thief, directly in front of his repentant counterpart, does not accept his fate and turns to yell over his shoulder at one of the group’s tormenters.

The dense horizontal cluster of the figures and their flatness against the foreground plane recall the format of ancient sculpted reliefs. The Netherlandish artist Lambert Lombard, who produced the immediate design for this image, was a sophisticated student of antiquity whose drawings reveal his study of classical monuments in both Italy and northern Europe.¹ However, as the double inscription in the bottom right corner reveals, the purported authorship of this image is rather complex: Hieronymus Bosch is said to have invented the design, while Lombard is said to have “restored” it. This unusual phrasing is evocative of an antiquarian approach to the past, one more readily associated with an ancient monument than with a work on paper.

An extant drawing, preserved today in Paris (cat. 10a), is signed “Lambert Lombard made this in the year 1556,” which suggests that the artist indeed acted as restorer of a Boschian composition from decades earlier.² The exact model for Lombard’s drawing is unknown, but the image relates both to Bosch’s *Carrying of the Cross* in Vienna and to his representation of the same subject on exterior wings of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* triptych in Lisbon (p. 18, fig. 5), as well as to a large rendition attributed to Bosch or his workshop in the Escorial in Spain.³ Also relevant here are several other painted compositions by Bosch’s followers, in particular a painting attributed to Jan Mandyn (cat. 10b), which in its horizontal format and its placement of figures, such as



Cat. 10a. Lambert Lombard, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1556. Pen and brown ink on prepared paper. Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris



Cat. 10b. Jan Mandyn, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, n.d. Oil on panel. Donated by the Jacobs van Merlen family, Coll. King Baudouin Foundation, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp

the soldiers wearing strange fantastical armor in the foreground, shows a strong affinity with Lombard's composition.⁴ The sixteenth-century Ghent historian Marcus van Vaernewijck additionally mentions a painting of Christ carrying the Cross by Bosch that was destroyed in 1566 by iconoclasts in Ghent's Church of Saint Pharaïldis.⁵

In light of these other compositions, it is likely that Lombard was indeed working from a drawn or painted model associated with Bosch. It is especially interesting how Lombard, as "restorer," modifies the costumes and details according to his own stylistic interest in ancient models, even as he engages with Bosch's distinctly Netherlandish pictorial idiom. Particularly notable is the shield adorned with an all'antica lion's head in the foreground. Subtle changes also emerge in comparing the drawing and the resulting engraving. Christ's head is turned from a strict profile in the drawing to its three-quarter view in the print. The crowd exiting through the archway has become even more dense as well, and their weaponry jutting into the air more profuse.

One curious detail of the engraving is the inscription in its lower margin, for which the preparatory ruling lines are still visible. The text itself contains several errors (see corrections in the transcription above), which are evident because all but the first two lines derive from the *Pascal Song* of the fifth-century Christian author Sedulius, a versified account of the Gospel narrative.⁶ The full passage translates as follows:

Pontius Pilate is overcome by the insane tumult of the senate and the people,
and the wicked governor gives over the lamb to the wolves. And when the holy
one has been given over for torment by the savage soldiers, he is clothed in a vile
cloak woven of red cloth, all bloody as if he were an image of death. A crown
fastened with thorns has encircled his great head; it is made of thorns because
that beneficent one bears all of our sins.

It is uncertain who added the first two lines of text, but it is not impossible that Lombard himself was involved, as Dominicus Lampsonius writes in his 1565 biography of the artist that he became an ardent student of Greek and Latin early in his career.⁷ Lampsonius's 1572 *Effigies*, published

around the time of this print and celebrating the famous Netherlandish artists, should also be seen in connection to Hieronymus Cock's marketing of the print as Lombard's restoration of a Bosch original.⁸ Lombard participated in a larger art-historical phenomenon during the mid-sixteenth century of reviving and copying the works of his immediate Netherlandish and German artistic forebears. Another prominent participant in this revival was Lombard's contemporary Michel Coxcie, who executed commissions from the Habsburg court of copies after Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden.⁹ Lombard's restored Boschian image participated in a tradition not just in painting but also in print, as it had a notable predecessor with Martin Schongauer's great engraving of the same subject, *Procession to Calvary* (c. 1475); unlike Coxcie's single painted copies, Lombard's engraving after Bosch was accessible to a much broader public by virtue of the reproductive medium.¹⁰ In this respect, a similar example to Lombard's *Christ Carrying the Cross* is another retrospective print published by Hieronymus Cock in 1565 after van der Weyden's famous *Descent from the Cross* (p. 47, fig. 11).

In the print's reissued third state, published by Cornelis Galle, Lombard's name was removed from the plate together with that of Hieronymus Cock, leaving reference only to Bosch as its inventor. Although Cock had clearly considered Lombard's role as restorer significant enough to include in the context of the fertile art-historical moment of the mid-sixteenth century, that aspect of the print's history seems to have mattered less as time wore on. Indeed, Lombard's role appears to have been diminished even before the plate left Cock's shop: the posthumous 1601 inventory of Cock's widow lists it simply as "a copper plate of the Cross-bearer by Hieronymus Bosch."¹¹ – M.B.

Notes

1 Ellen and Wolfgang Kemp, "Lambert Lombards antiquarische Theorie und Praxis," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1973): 122–52; and Edward H. Wouk, "Reclaiming the Antiquities of Gaul: Lambert Lombard and the History of Northern Art," *Simiolus* 36 (2012): 35–65, esp. 49–52.

2 "Lambertus Lo[m]bard fecit 1556." For the relationship between the drawing and print, see Godelieve Denhaene, ed., *Lambert Lombard: peintre de la renaissance Liège 1505/06–1566* (Brussels: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, 2006), 415–18, nos. 70–71.

3 A 1574 manifest detailing a shipment of works to Philip II of Spain refers to the Escorial painting. See Paul Vandenbroeck, "The Spanish *inventarios reales* and Hieronymus Bosch," in Jos Koldewey, Bernard Vermet, and Barbera van Kooij, eds., *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 50: "Una tabla en que está pintado Christo nuestro Señor con la cruz a cuestras con Simón Cyreneo vestido de blanco y otras figuras, de mano de Gerónimo Bosqui, que tiene seys pies de alto y de ancho quatro y tres quartas." See Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 329–37 for this and other depictions of *Christ Carrying the Cross* by Bosch and his followers.

4 For extensive discussion of Mandyn's painting and additional related works, see Matthijs IJink and Jos Koldewey, *La Montée au Calvaire d'après Jérôme Bosch* (Brussels: Fondation Roi Baudouin, 2011).

5 Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Van die beroelicke tijden in die Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Ghendt 1566–1568*, ed. Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen, 5 vols. (Ghent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1872–81), 2:156: "tSente Pharahilden en weet ic niet wat daer sonderlinx ghebroken was. Hier inne was een gheschilderde tafel ende es daer Ons Heere zijn cruuse draecht, ghedaen bij meester Jeronimus Bosch, die men hiet den duvelmakere, omdat zijns ghelijcke niet uut en quam van duvelen te maken."

6 As previously noted by P. W. A. Th. van der Laan, "Imitation créative dans le *Carmen Paschale* de Sédulius," in J. den Boef and A. Hilhorst, eds., *Early Christian Poetry: A Collection of Essays* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 135–66, esp. 138–39. The only difference from the standard version of the text is that *chlamydem* and *vilem* have switched positions; according to van der Laan, this change does occur in some medieval manuscripts of Sedulius's poetry. For the poem itself, see Sedulius, "Carmen Paschale," in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (CSEL), ed. Victoria Panagl, ex recensione Iohannis Huemer, vol. 10 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), bk. 5, lines 164–69.

7 Dominicus Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombardi apud Eburones pictoris celeberrimi vita* (Bruges: Hubert Goltzius, 1565), 6–7.

8 For discussion of Lampsonius's *Effigies*, see cat. 1.

9 Godelieve Denhaene, "Lombard humaniste," in Denhaene, ed., *Lambert Lombard: peintre de la renaissance Liège 1505/06–1566* (Brussels: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, 2006), 79–97, esp. 92–94; Wouk, "Reclaiming the Antiquities of Gaul," 49–52; Ruben Suykerbuyk, "Coxcie's Copies of Old Masters: An Addition and an Analysis," *Simiolus* 37.1 (2013–14): 5–24, esp. 19–20; and Koenraad Jonckheere, ed., *Michiel Coxcie 1499–1592 and the Giants of His Age* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013).

10 See Lehrs, GKK, 5:69–76, no. 9.

11 Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols. (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Kunstwetenschappen, 1984–2009), 1:29: "Een coperen plaete van eenen Cruysdrager van Jheronimus Bosch." There are "vierentwintig bladeren van den Cruysdrager" recorded in the inventory as well (1:23).



CAT. 11

Pieter van der Heyden (b. Antwerp, c. 1530–d. after March 1572, Berchem)
after Pieter Bruegel the Elder (b. c. 1525/30–d. 1569, Brussels)

Big Fish Eat Little Fish, 1557

Engraving, i/iv

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image: 9 1/16 × 11 13/16 in. (23 × 30 cm)

Sheet: 9 1/8 × 11 7/8 in. (23.2 × 30.2 cm), trimmed to and within platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 23); Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 139); Hollstein (Cock, no. 137); Hollstein (Heyden, no. 146); New Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 31); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 103; De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 112; Riggs 1977, no. 40; Orenstein 2001, no. 39; Lafond 2002, no. 17; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, no. 283; Ilsink 2009, 216–17

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

ECCE

Hieronijmus Bos

inventor

PAME [monogram: Pieter van der Heyden]

COCK EXCU[DIT] 1557.

in the lower margin:

GRANDIBUS EXIGUI SUNT PISCES PISCIBUS ESCA

Siet sone dit hebbe ick zeer langhe gheweten, dat die groote vissen de cleyne eten

This engraving based on a drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder is the lynchpin to the history of Hieronymus Bosch's reception in print. It marks the beginning of the Boschian revival at the publishing house of Hieronymus Cock and the first instance, subsequent to Alart du Hameel's group of early-sixteenth-century engravings inspired by Bosch (cat. 5, 12, 15), in which an artist employed the print medium as a means to broadcast himself as a Boschian inventor.

In contrast to Hameel's engravings, which Hameel signed with his own name and with that of his hometown of 's-Hertogenbosch, Bruegel got up to something more ingenious, if not deceptive.¹ The drawing that Bruegel meticulously created in preparation for the *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* engraving (cat. 11a), with many fine lines of contour and hatching that chart a precise path for the burin, is dated and signed in the lower right with Bruegel's own name.² The engraving, however, makes no reference to its actual creator but instead, like so many Boschian prints produced in its immediate wake, proclaims Hieronymus Bosch as its "inventor."

It has often been asserted that the obscuring of Bruegel's authorship amounted to a commercial strategy on the part of Hieronymus Cock, who saw the success of Boschian images on the Antwerp market and thus chose to publish a work by the hand of Bruegel—who was just beginning his career—under the guise of Bosch's existing and preeminent brand. Yet there is no reason to presume Cock's sole agency in this decision. As Matthijs Ilsink has convincingly argued, Bruegel's creation of this Boschian image was a means for him to engage in a discourse about imitation and emulation in Renaissance art, to show at once his admiration for Bosch's model and to demonstrate his ability to creatively expand upon the legacy of his great predecessor.³ Bruegel's own career took off rapidly in the years immediately following the creation of the *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* engraving, and it is not far-fetched to suppose that the artist's contemporaries



Cat. 11a. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, 1556. Pen and brush in gray and black ink, incised for transfer. Albertina, Vienna

in Antwerp saw through his clever Boschian disguise and appreciated the wit and skill of Bruegel's unique creation. It is no accident that Dominicus Lampsonius, in his 1572 chronicle of the great Netherlandish painters, declared Bruegel to be "a second Bosch."⁴

The proverbial maxim that the bigger fish always eat the smaller fish resonates in the broadest sense as a comment on human society analogous to the natural world: bigger, more powerful individuals dominate—or devour—smaller ones, in a seemingly endless chain. Indeed, this is the lesson conveyed by the father in the foreground of Bruegel's image, who gestures towards the monstrous fish on the shore and tells his young son to "behold" (*ecce*) its true meaning. The uncanny fish in the background left, which has grown legs and is walking away with a smaller catch stuffed in its mouth, also suggests the slippage between the animal and human realms. A parallel approach to conveying commentary on human nature through animal subjects surfaces as well in the Boschian composition *The Besieged Elephant* (cat. 15, 16).

The proverb of the big fish was common both in Latin and in vernacular languages from the Middle Ages onward, appearing in everything from religious texts to the plays of Shakespeare.⁵ Yet it was in the Netherlands that the proverb gained a visual tradition, most specifically with Bosch and Bruegel. Although Bosch represents big fishes devouring little figures as details in several of his religious paintings (p. 62, figs. 3a–d), Bruegel was not copying any specific example from Bosch's oeuvre in designing his composition. In fact,

the monumentality of the motif in Bruegel's image itself constitutes a major innovation: the proverb is no longer pictured as an aside to a larger narrative but has become the main event, amplified and iterated multifold throughout the engraving's landscape.

The choice of subject was entirely topical to Bruegel's native Antwerp in the mid-sixteenth century, which was the most important port in Europe at the time, a center not only for international trade but also for the burgeoning art market.⁶ Competing to be the bigger fish, whether among merchants or artists, was fundamental to life in the commercial capital. The port city in the background of the engraving here alludes to this urban context, even if it does not depict Antwerp itself, and other works in Bruegel's oeuvre make even more explicit reference to the city.⁷ Bruegel's *Big Fish* also spawned several adaptations in later prints that transform the proverbial image variously into a collector's art game, an overt political allegory, and even a figuration of New World cannibalism.⁸

Most significantly, however, Bruegel's *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* forged the initial path on the Antwerp print market for a Boschian revival through the reproductive medium, which allowed Bosch's unique contribution to Netherlandish art to reach a much broader audience and to serve as inspiration for many other artists. That Bruegel was highly conscious of the possibilities of print is evident not only from his own significant output of designs for engravings but also from his engagement with Hameel's earlier Boschian prints. Again, what remains unique about *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*—and what distinguishes it from the other pastiches and more derivative Boschian prints published by Cock—is how Bruegel employed Bosch's model to frame his own artistry. In that sense, the figures of father and son in the dinghy do more than simply guide us to perceive the proverbial meaning of the voracious fish. Like the men in the foreground of the etching *Tree-Man* (cat. 4) who point towards Bosch's famous monstrous creation, the father's exclamation "Behold!" coupled with his gesture signals to the viewer that there is a picture within the picture. Yet in this case, despite the obfuscation of the inscription, the object of interest is as much Bruegel as Bosch himself. – M.B.

Notes

1 On this point, see my "Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as 'Inventor,'" in this volume.

2 Hans Mielke, *Pieter Bruegel: die Zeichnungen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), no. 31.

3 Matthijs IJssink, "Big Fish Eat Little Fish: Looking at a Potent Image and Its Offspring," in this volume.

4 Ibid.

5 See Wolfgang Mieder, "History and Interpretation of a Proverb about Human Nature: Big Fish Eat Little Fish," in *Tradition and Innovation in Folk Literature* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1987), 178–202; and *ibid.*, *Proverbs: A Handbook* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 34–43.

6 For discussion of Antwerp's rise to prominence and the emergence of the print market there, see Elizabeth Wyckoff, "Hieronymus Cock and the Invention of the Print Market in Antwerp," in this volume.

7 See the representations of Antwerp in the background of Bruegel's 1562 painting *Two Monkeys* (Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 2077) and his circa 1559 drawing *Storm at Sea* (Courtauld Institute of Art, London, Seilern Coll., no. 11).

8 See IJssink, "Big Fish Eat Little Fish"; and also Stephanie Porras, "Copies, Cannibals and Conquerors: Maarten de Vos's *The Big Fish Eat the Small*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 64 (2014): 249–71, for discussion of the circa 1580 engraving after Maarten de Vos, which collapses Bruegel's *Big Fish* iconography together with a representation of cannibals roasting and feasting on human victims.



CAT. 12

Alart du Hameel (b. 's-Hertogenbosch, c. 1449–d. before January 27, 1507)

The Last Judgment, n.d.

Engraving, i/iii

Image: 9 5/16 × 13 11/16 in. (23.6 × 34.7 cm), trimmed to and within platemark

The British Museum, London 1845,0809.436

SELECTED LITERATURE: Lehrs, "Verzeichniss," no. 2; Lehrs, GKK, no. 2; *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 92; TIB (Hameel, .002); Lafond 2002, no. 2; Silver, *Hieronimus Bosch*, 361–62; Koreny 2012, 221

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

bosche

A [with Hameel's hallmark below]

QUEM FECIT DOMINUS

H[A]EC EST DIES

SURGITE MORTUI

VENITE AD IUDICIUM



CAT. 13

Pieter van der Heyden (b. Antwerp, c. 1530–d. after March 1572, Berchem)
or Philips Galle (b. Haarlem, 1537–d. 1612, Antwerp)
after Alart du Hameel (b. 's-Hertogenbosch, c. 1449–d. before January 27, 1507)

The Last Judgment, n.d.

Engraving, only state

Sheet: 9 3/4 × 13 13/16 in. (24.8 × 35.1 cm), trimmed to and within platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 9); Lehrs, "Verzeichniss," no. 2a; Lehrs, GKK, no. 2a;
TIB (Hameel, .002 C1); Lafond 2002, no. A-1

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

QUEM FECIT DOMIN[US]

H[EC] EST D[IE]S

SURGITE MORTUI

VENITE AD IUDICIUM

HIERONYMUS

BOS INVENTOR

This representation of the Last Judgment by Hameel (cat. 12) is among the most foundational works to the history of Bosch's reception in print, and one that was especially valued in the later sixteenth century for its perceived aura of proximity to the painter himself. Although Hameel's engraving does not align directly with any extant work by Bosch, the subject and theme of the Last Judgment was fundamental to the latter's oeuvre. Hameel, as a contemporary and fellow native of 's-Hertogenbosch, would have been well aware that the Last Judgment iconography served as a vehicle for Bosch's particular fascination with hell scenes.¹

Hameel depicts Christ seated atop a rainbow, his loincloth draped over its edge. The sword of judgment floats beside his left shoulder, and he holds lilies in his right arm as he gestures to his side wound. Trumpeting angels beside him sound the day of reckoning as a small cluster of saints—a humble gathering of the heavenly host—watch from the clouds in the upper left. Above Christ's head on the side of the blessed, Hameel signals the engraving's origin in 's-Hertogenbosch and includes his own hallmark as a signature.

In the upper right, heaven devolves into hell. A fortress belches flames and bulges at its seams with monsters. The structure swallows up naked souls head first, while a throng of demons snatches up more victims from below. A few angels in the massive crowd beneath Christ's feet try to shepherd a handful of blessed souls to safety through the steep and narrow path between the cliffs on the composition's left, yet the tug-of-war between an angel and devil at the entrance to that pathway suggests a hard-won victory for the saved. There are also strange figures seemingly detached from the narrative: in the bottom right corner, a hooded man peers out with a sinister smile from inside the cavern of a rock, while in the upper left atop a cliff, a nude man does a handstand as he emits flames from his anus. Devils dominate



Cat. 12a. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Pride (Superbia)*, 1558, from the series *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Engraving. Private collection

the foreground: faces without bodies, limbs without heads, and contortionist beasts in myriad poses, all emblematic of Hameel's emulation of Bosch's model and his own inventive capacity for depicting the monstrous.

In the mid-sixteenth century, Hameel's *Last Judgment* found a sophisticated respondent in Pieter Bruegel the Elder, who mined the image for figures to adapt and employ in his Boschian series *The Seven Deadly Sins*.² In Bruegel's *Anger* (cat. 16b), the figures falling beneath an oversized blade strongly recall the poses of various desperate bodies in Hameel's composition.³ In *Pride* (cat. 12a), the somersaulting figure in the foreground pierced by an arrow and peering through its legs at its own anus combines the two monsters paired at the bottom center of Hameel's print, one peaking at us between its legs and the other turned away, while the figure doing a handstand on the background cliffs derives from Hameel as well.⁴ In Bruegel's *Lust* (cat. 20b), the monster holding its legs in the air and displaying its genitals finds its precursor in a figure from the left side of Hameel's landscape.⁵ These echoes, of which there are still more to be found in other prints from the series, are even more evident in Bruegel's preparatory drawings than in the resulting prints.⁶

Bruegel seems to have been inspired by Hameel's landscape design as well: throughout *The Seven Deadly Sins*, he employs similar steep recession planes, background bodies of water, cavernous cliffs, and gated buildings stormed by ladders. For his own rendition of the Last Judgment (cat. 12b), published the same year as *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Bruegel in no way copied Hameel's engraving, but he clearly had it in mind as he drafted the overall layout and the prominent group of Boschian demons cavorting in the foreground.



Cat. 12b. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Last Judgment*, 1558. Engraving. Private collection

In this rare exemplar of the first state of Hameel's *Last Judgment*, someone has repaired a lacuna in the lower left corner by transforming the original figures of souls cowering in fear into little devils drawn by hand; a similar hand-drawn repair of that same corner appears in an impression now in Vienna's Albertina—both instances indicative of the owners' desire to preserve the image as a historical document of Bosch's time and artistic milieu.⁸

An emulative copy, in reverse, after Hameel's image (cat. 13), published in the later sixteenth century, further attests that these early prints from Bosch's lifetime were considered too valuable to lose to the ravages of time. The engraver was likely either Philips Galle or Pieter van der Heyden, both of whom engraved compositions for Pieter Bruegel the Elder. The print thus plausibly dates during, or just after, the period mid-century when Bruegel was collaborating with the print publisher Hieronymus Cock on designs for Bosch-inspired prints, such as his series *The Seven Deadly Sins*.

The association of Hameel's *Last Judgment* with Boschian tradition is made explicit in this later rendition through the prominent inscription that has been added in the lower right corner, which proclaims Hieronymus Bosch the "inventor" of the image. Hameel's hallmark and his reference to "Bosche" as the print's place of origin have also been removed here. As a marketing strategy, these edits capitalized on Bosch as a brand name by suggesting that the design derived from the hand of Bosch himself, not merely from his milieu in the town of 's-Hertogenbosch.

The engraver's subtle changes to Hameel's original image reveal an emulative approach to copying, one that does not go nearly so far as Bruegel's re-imaginings of Boschian material but which nonetheless reflect the mid-sixteenth-century moment from which the engraving emerged. The most dramatic adaptations are in the region of heaven. The figure of Christ stands out far more starkly as a result of shading in the sky and the creation of a white mandorla around his body. Perhaps it was felt that the divine presence got somewhat lost in Hameel's crowded and hell-dominated landscape. Christ's stigmata have been removed, and his body itself has become far more muscular, particularly the sculpted torso that appears somewhat awkward grafted onto the stiff pose from Hameel's original composition. As a result of the reversal from Hameel's design, Christ's side wound is now located on the wrong side of his body, and more egregious still, heaven is situated to his left rather than to his more favorable dexter side.

Other differences occur across the composition. In general, the strong outlines in Hameel's original have been softened, and the bodies are modeled with greater dimensionality throughout. Even the text on the banderole has been updated to Roman script as opposed to the curving Gothic letters of the earlier engraving. The clouds and the smoke emitted from the hellfire have become far more concrete and less ethereal, and a few of the figures have been altered as well, such as the man doing a handstand on the cliff in the upper right, whose head is turned to the side in Hameel's engraving. Especially striking is the figure of the monster in the lower right with a head for a torso and an outdated chaperon on its head; here it has been given a three-quarter pose and much more defined features in comparison to Hameel's strict profile (cat. 13a, 13b). Despite these transformations, however, the primary function of this engraving was clearly to extend the life and circulation of Hameel's composition, precisely at the moment when Bruegel and Cock were fomenting a Boschian renaissance in print. – M.B.



Cat. 13a. Detail cat. 12



Cat. 13b. Detail cat. 13

Notes

¹ For further discussion of Hameel's output after Bosch, see my "Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as 'Inventor,'" in this volume.

² New Hollstein (Bruegel, nos. 21–27); and Martin Royalton-Kisch, "Pieter Bruegel as a Draftsman: The Changing Image," in Orenstein 2001, 13–39, esp. 27–28. Royalton-Kisch also noted connections between Hameel's *Last Judgment* and figures in Bruegel's *Pride* and *Lust*.

³ New Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 21).

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 27.

⁶ In Bruegel's engraving *Envy*, the monster carrying a tonsured man piggyback up the ladder in the background appears in Hameel's engraving in the upper right. In the distant background of *Gluttony* is a little hunched figure carrying a stick over his shoulder as fire bursts from a hole in the ground, who also surfaces in the background of Hameel's print. See *ibid.*, nos. 25–26.

For Bruegel's preparatory drawings for this series, see Manfred Sellink, *Pieter Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings, and Prints* (Ghent: Ludion, 2007), 96–102, nos. 46–52.

⁷ New Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 8).

⁸ British Museum, London, inv. no. PPA 54964; and Albertina Museum, Vienna, inv. no. DG1928/524.



HIERONYMUS DEI INVENTOR

IVSTORVM ANIMAE IN MANU DEI SVNT, NEC
ATTINGIT ILLOS CRVCIATVS.



HIERONYMUS COCK EXCVDE

TOLLITE O PORTAE CAPITA VESTRA ATTOLLIMINI FORES
SEMPITERNAE, VT INGREDIETVR REX ILLE GLORIOSVS



IMPII MVLTABVNTVR PRO COGITATIONIBVS
SVIS, VT QVI A DNO DEFECERINT.

CAT. 14

Attributed to Cornelis Cort (b. Hoorn, 1533–d. before March 17, 1578, Rome)
after a follower of Hieronymus Bosch

The Last Judgment (Triptych), n.d.

Engraving, i/ii

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image: 13 3/16 × 19 3/8 in. (33.5 × 49.2 cm)

Platemark: 13 1/4 × 19 1/2 in. (33.7 × 49.5 cm)

Sheet: 14 3/16 × 20 1/2 in. (36 × 52.1 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 7); Hollstein (Cock, no. 132); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 94; De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 63; Riggs 1977, no. 17; Unverfehrt 1980, no. 5; Vandenbroeck 2002, 331–33, no. 59; Lafond 2002, no. 12; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 381–83; Van Grieken et al. 2013, no. 62

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

HIERONYMUS BOS INVENTOR

HIERONYMUS COCK EXCUD[BAT]

in the lower margin:

IUSTORUM ANIMAE IN MANU DEI SUNT, NEC

ATTINGIT ILLOS CRUCIATUS.

TOLLITE O PORTAE CAPITA VESTRA ATTOLLIMINI FORES

SEMPITERNAE, UT INGREDIATUR REX ILLE GLoriosus

IMPII MULTABUNTUR PRO COGITATIONIBUS

SUIS, UT QUI A D[OMI]NO DEFECERINT.

Among the prints associated with Bosch, this engraving is surpassed in size only by *The Besieged Elephant* (cat. 16). Like the latter engraving, it was published by Hieronymus Cock sometime in the 1560s, but it harks back to one of the seminal Boschian prints engraved by Alart du Hameel at the beginning of the century (cat. 12). However, the relation to Hameel's model here is far less obvious than with *The Besieged Elephant*, in large part due to the format of the composition, which resembles a painted triptych complete with a surrounding frame. Rather than suggesting that this engraving emulates an earlier printed image, its triptych superstructure instead more strongly conveys the impression that it reproduces a painting by Bosch himself. That implication, although doubtless intended to increase the work's market appeal, is a complete deception. No such painting by Bosch is extant, and on closer inspection, the stylistic pastiche that the work reveals itself to be also rules out its association with any lost composition.

What this print does represent is a clever and sophisticated response to Bosch's creative achievements as they were understood in the mid-sixteenth century. For instance, it reflects not only the fact that Bosch produced many large-scale painted triptychs but also that he approached this form in a novel way. Bosch's seminal paintings *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (p. 14, fig. 2) and his *Temptation of St. Anthony* (p. 18, fig. 5) both crowd the space traditionally reserved for divine subjects with figures from the earthly and demonic realms, disrupting the devotional functionality with which the triptych format had long been associated.¹ In its unconventional organization, this engraved triptych builds upon that legacy. An interesting document of the reception of this engraving survives through



Cat. 14a. In the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *Last Judgment* (detail), n.d. Engraving with hand-colored additions. Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels S.I 9190



Cat. 14b. Philips Galle after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Justice (Justitia)*, 1559–60, from the series *The Seven Virtues*. Engraving. Private collection

another impression, which has been hand-colored in red to emphasize the bloody torments enacted by its demonic antagonists: a zealous response to Bosch's legacy of inventive hell scenes (cat. 14a).

While Christ typically appears at the center of Last Judgment scenes, as he does in Hameel's earlier engraving of the subject, here the central panel is given over entirely to the sort of combat between angels and devils that otherwise plays out across the landscape of Hameel's *Last Judgment*. The only suggestion of Christ's presence is in the inscription appended below that proclaims, "Open your city doors, raise the eternal gates, so that the glorious king will enter!"² Although the elegant poses of the angels and muscular nude bodies of the risen souls come far closer to the mid-century Antwerp model of artists such as Frans Floris, who worked in this more Italianate and classicizing mode, the overall composition does indeed owe a debt to Hameel: the tower being scaled with ladders on the far right, the hellfire in the background, and, above all, the group of grotesque monsters inhabiting the foreground recall Hameel's earlier composition.

The wings of this imagined triptych, however, are far more suggestive of the art of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, in particular his two engraved series of the sins and virtues.³ The left wing, presumably intended to represent Paradise, looks more like a love garden, with figures frolicking nude and dipping into a Gothic fountain—all of which ironically compares to the background of Bruegel's allegorical image *Lust* (cat. 20b). There are signs here of hellish corruption lurking as well, which recall the Eden panel of Bosch's own *Garden of Earthly Delights*, most notably the two flailing figures on the ground directly above the inscription "Hieronymus Bosch inventor" who do not revel in salvation but appear distressed and fearful. Again, the appended inscription is at odds with the panel's imagery, as it reads, "The souls of the just are in the hands of God, nor will torment touch them."⁴

The right panel of the triptych is given over to torture, and here the accompanying inscription suggests that the wicked will indeed get their deserved punishment in hell.⁵ A female demon in the middle left rakes a nude body over nails as other bodies are strung on wheels, turned on spits, and seasoned in kettles for roasting. Allusions to the vices of gluttony and lust again recall Bruegel's *Seven Deadly Sins*. Most striking, however, is the man laid out on a board as a demon pours water down his throat, a scene that directly recalls the waterboarding in the foreground of Bruegel's *Justice* (cat. 14b), one of the most ominous images in his series of virtues.⁶

Two drawings of uncertain authorship that mirror the wings of this engraved triptych survive today (cat. 14c, 14d).⁷ Whether they served as preparatory drawings for the print or were subsequently copied from its composition is not clear, but scholars have suggested attributions variously to Bruegel, the Boschian imitator Pieter Huys, and to Hieronymus Cock himself. Perhaps less important than who designed this *Last Judgment* is that it constitutes an image, produced under Cock's aegis, which reflects how Bosch's afterlife during the 1560s was constructed not only on the basis of his painted oeuvre and Hameel's early prints after his model but was also inextricably bound up in Bruegel's own Boschian revolution. – M.B.

LEFT: Cat. 14c. Anonymous, *Heaven*, 1550–75. Pen and bistre; gray wash. Princeton University Art Museum

RIGHT: Cat. 14d. Anonymous, *Hell*, 1550–75. Pen and bistre; gray wash. Princeton University Art Museum

Notes

- 1 Lynn F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 189–219.
- 2 Psalms 24:9. The same text is found in the lower margin of Pieter van der Heyden's engraving after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Descent of Christ into Limbo*, c. 1561, which was also published by Cock.
- 3 New Hollstein (Bruegel, nos. 13–19, 21–27).
- 4 Wisdom 3:1.
- 5 Wisdom 3:10.
- 6 New Hollstein (Bruegel, no. 16).
- 7 See Timothy Riggs and Larry Silver, *Graven Images: The Rise of the Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540–1640* (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1993), 125, nos. 27–28; Daan van Heesch, "New Evidence on Pieter Huys as a Draughtsman and Designer of Prints," *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 37 (2014): 3–4; and Larry Silver, "Second Bosch: Family Resemblance and the Marketing of Art," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999): 31–56, esp. 41–42.





CAT. 15

Alart du Hameel (b. 's-Hertogenbosch, c. 1449–d. before January 27, 1507)

The Besieged Elephant, n.d.

Engraving, only state

Image: 8 × 13 1/4 in. (20.3 × 33.6 cm), trimmed to and within platemark

The British Museum, London 1845,0809.439

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 42); Hollstein (Duhamel, no. 7); Lehrs, “Verzeichniss” no. 7; Lehrs, GKK, no. 7; TIB (Hameel, .007); Koldeweij et al. 2001, 116–17; Lafond 2002, no. 6; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 362–64

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

bosche

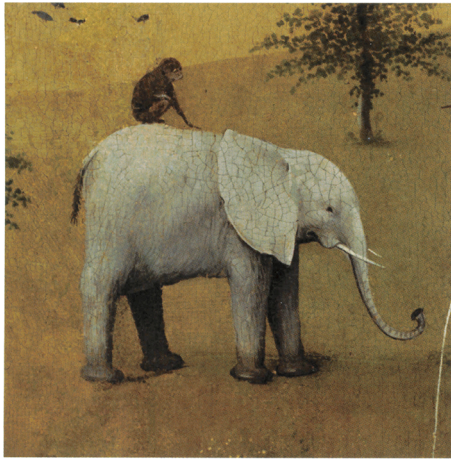
A [with Hameel’s hallmark below]

HAMEEL

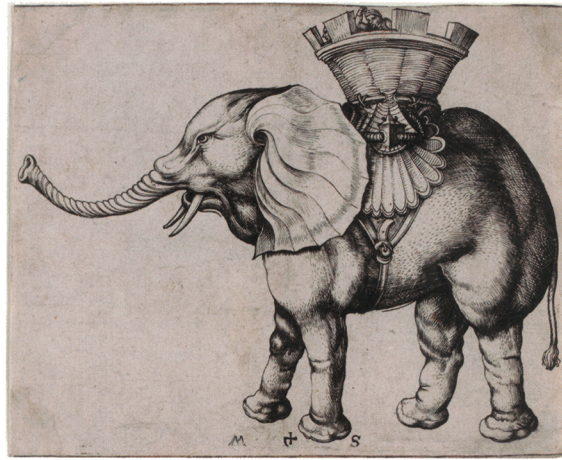
Extremely rare, this is but one of two impressions of Alart du Hameel’s *Besieged Elephant* that survive today.¹ It has been posited, on the basis of evidence from the later sixteenth century, that the composition derives from a work by Bosch himself, now lost. Philip II of Spain’s inventory records record a large painting on canvas of “an elephant and other drolleries [*disparates*] by Hieronymus Bosch.”² The tapestry series produced in Brussels around 1530–40, which comprised a set of “Bosch” compositions, included a besieged elephant as well, although no exemplar of that tapestry is extant.³ An elephant does appear in the left wing of Bosch’s *Garden of Earthly Delights* (cat. 15a), depicted in a stylized form that compares closely to Hameel’s massive protagonist here, though in a paradisiacal context quite distinct from the battle-torn landscape of this engraving.

Regardless of whether an original by Hameel’s fellow townsman formed the basis for the print, its sixteenth-century audience perceived a connection between this composition and Bosch’s own hand. Indeed, a later modernized rendition of Hameel’s *Besieged Elephant* published by Hieronymus Cock further attests to the understanding of Bosch as its inventor (cat. 16). As in Hameel’s other engravings, his last name, hallmark, and the word *bosche* in reference to 's-Hertogenbosch are inscribed along the print’s upper edge; uniquely, however, this engraving also adds, beside Hameel’s name, a funny demon floating in the sky and holding a shield adorned with what appears to be three flames (a devil’s mock coat of arms). There is a particularly strong temptation here—perhaps even an invitation from Hameel himself—to imagine that Bosch, the consummate painter of hell scenes and devilish behavior, was more than a little involved in the conception of the work.

The image of the battle elephant goes back to antiquity and remained a popular subject throughout the Middle Ages and into the sixteenth century. The description of elephants armed for battle derives from the ancient Greek historian Diodorus Siculus whose *Library of History* describes a battle undertaken by Alexander the Great during his campaign in India.⁴ The animals were outfitted by the enemy army with towers on their backs, such that together they looked like a giant city, and the infantry was placed on the ground between them. Siculus describes how, when the fighting began, the elephants trampled some of



Cat. 15a. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (detail), c. 1500–05. Oil on panel. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Cat. 15b. Martin Schongauer, *The Elephant*, 1470–82. Engraving. The British Museum, London 1841,0612.40

Alexander's soldiers and lifted up others with their trunks to dash them against on the ground. Ultimately, however, Alexander's army weakened the animals with their spears, and the elephants were put into disarray.

Hameel's elephant was not based on firsthand knowledge of the animal but instead must have been derived from a preexisting model, perhaps from Bosch's own workshop. By this time, a few elephants had reached European shores as diplomatic gifts from abroad, but depictions drawn from life appear only later in the sixteenth century.⁵ A notable precursor in print is the late-fifteenth-century engraving of a battle elephant by Martin Schongauer (cat. 15b), though it is clear, based on the stylistic differences in the treatment of the animal's body, that Hameel did not depend on its example.⁶ The battle elephant also featured in ephemeral courtly and urban festivities in the Low Countries. At the winter snowmen festival held in Brussels in 1511, a giant snow sculpture of one such elephant appeared prominently among representations of biblical and mythological figures.⁷ Such festivities suggest that the subject of Hameel's print would have already carried cultural and social resonance for its Netherlandish audience.

Hameel's engraving shows a violent battle in which animals and men both take part. Soldiers have mounted lions, bulls, stags, camels, and even a unicorn in their effort to overwhelm the massive elephant at center. One bear in the background left lurches, ready to charge, while another has been felled in the lower left by a soldier's spear. The combination of men riding beasts, battalions clustered in units under strange defensive structures, and the circular composition strongly recalls the background scene in the center panel of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The fortress atop the elephant—its fantastical form further evocative of the strange vegetative structures in the background of Bosch's famous triptych—serves as a platform from which helmeted soldiers shoot arrows at the attackers below. A flag with a crescent flutters atop the fortress, which contemporary viewers may have associated with the

chronic European fear of Muslim invasion. Although the elephant's legs have been punctured by two arrows, it nonetheless retains the strength to lift a victim with its trunk, just as Siculus describes in his account of Alexander's battle. Severed limbs, arms, and feet of human victims are scattered across the picture plane, and other bodies appear as so much litter, as if they have already been picked up and hurled down by the imposing animal. The battle as a whole seems disorganized at best and almost appears to make a mockery of the notion of chivalric combat, with the various knights in full armor, bearing strange insignia atop their helmets.

Although there has been an attempt to interpret the symbolic meaning of these insignia, such details seem less significant than the overall frenetic strife of the scene.⁸ Perhaps more illuminating is the argument that the engraving comments upon the bestial impulses of mankind at large, beyond its more specific reference (through the crescent flag) to the perceived Muslim threat.⁹ The elephant had been interpreted since antiquity both as an emblem of brute strength and as a model for temperance and control of the passions.¹⁰ Ultimately, Hameel's *Besieged Elephant* is in many respects as evocative an image as Bosch's own *Garden of Earthly Delights*, with which it clearly shares an affinity, and any attempt to pin down a single meaning for the work may obscure its complex and ingenious exploration of the extremes inherent in human nature. – M.B.

Notes

1 The other is in the Albertina, Vienna, inv. no. DG 1928/526.

2 Paul Vandenbroeck, "The Spanish *inventarios reales* and Hieronymus Bosch," in Jos Koldeweij, Bernard Vermet, and Barbera van Kooij, eds., *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 54: "Otra lienzo de borrón en que hay un elefante y otros disparates de Hierónimo Bosco." There is, additionally, a surviving watercolor painting of the elephant (c. 1558) in a private collection in Corella, though it appears to be based directly on Hameel's print. See Koldeweij et al. 2001, 117, with color illustration.

3 Paul Vandenbroeck, "Meaningful Caprices: Folk Culture, Middle-Class Ideology (ca. 1480–1510) and Aristocratic Recuperation (ca. 1530–1570)," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (2009): 212–69, esp. 254–60.

4 *Bibliotheca Historica*, bk. XVII, 87–88.

5 Charles D. Cuttler, "Exotics in Post-Medieval European Art: Giraffes and Centaurs," *Artibus et Historiae* 12.23 (1991): 161–79, esp. 163.

6 Lehrs, GKK, V.339.94.

7 As mentioned in Jan Smeken's poem on the 1511 festival, for which see Herman Pleij, *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511: literatuur en stadscultuur tussen middeleeuwen en moderne tijd* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1988), 362, lines 169–74.

8 Bax 1979, 275–83.

9 Vandenbroeck 1987, 107–09; and Vandenbroeck 2002, 118–20.

10 Margaretta J. Darnall and Mark S. Weil, *Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo: Its 16th-Century Literary and Antiquarian Context* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1984), 45–49.





CAT. 16

Joannes van Doetecum the Elder (b. Deventer, act. 1554–d. 1605, Antwerp)
and Lucas van Doetecum (b. Deventer, act. 1554–d. before 1589)
after Alart du Hameel (b. 's-Hertogenbosch, c. 1449–d. before January 27, 1507)

The Besieged Elephant, n.d.

Etching and engraving, i/v

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image: 15 9/16 × 21 3/8 in. (39.5 × 54.3 cm)

Sheet: 15 5/8 × 21 1/2 in. (39.7 × 54.6 cm), trimmed between image and platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 43); Hollstein (Cock, no. 148); New Hollstein (The Van Doetecum Family, no. 218); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 95; De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 107; Riggs 1977, no. 11; Unverfehrt 1980, 140, no. 6; Vandenbroeck 1987, 107–09; Vandenbroeck 2002, 118–20, no. 72B; Lafond 2002, no. 25; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 380; Van Grieken et al. 2013, no. 61

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

HIERONIMUS BOS INVE[NIT].

H. COCK EXCUD[IT]

in the lower margin (absent from this impression):

TEMERITATIS SUBITI, UT VEHEMENTES SUNT IMPULSUS: QUORUM ICTIBUS HOMINUM MENTES CONCUSSAE,
NEC SUA PERICULA RESPICERE, NEC ALIENA FACTA IUSTA AESTIMATIONE PROSEQUI VALENT.

The dramatic scale of this engraving complements its monumental subject. Inspired by Alart du Hameel's early-sixteenth-century print *The Besieged Elephant* (cat. 15), the image represents the efforts of Hieronymus Cock as publisher both to preserve and reinvent Bosch's legacy. Described simply as the "Battle of the Elephant" in contemporary documents, this mid-century elaboration on Hameel's composition modernizes the body of the elephant and certain details of the surrounding battle.¹ At the same time, however, the later print preserves the essential allegorical meaning of its predecessor.²

The first indication of this allegorical reading comes from the inscription appended in the lower margin. The text derives from *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* by the ancient Roman writer Valerius Maximus, where it introduces a section devoted to mankind's rash tendencies: "Impulses of temerity are as sudden as they are violent; the minds of men shaken by their blows have the strength neither to look out for its dangers nor to assess the rightful deeds of others."³ This emphasis on the judgment and restraint of human action recalls Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Boschian series *The Seven Deadly Sins* and *The Seven Virtues*, which were published by Cock within a few years of *The Besieged Elephant*. In fact, Bruegel's *Fortitude* (cat. 16a) is inscribed with a text very similar to *The Besieged Elephant's* quotation from Valerius Maximus, and its composition is similar as well in its depiction of a frenzied battlefield on a receding plane, with surrounding battle rams and a fortress at the center.⁴ Bruegel's engraving may be even closer to Hameel's original in its inclusion of several animals, such as the bear in the foreground right, joining in the fray. Likewise, Bruegel's *Anger* (cat. 16b) portrays a siege in the foreground that also features many martial trappings similar to those present in both *Besieged Elephant* prints. The parallels with Bruegel's engravings suggest that the elephant scene could be understood both as a model of strength in the face of violence and as a figure of angry impulses unleashed. Bruegel's own exploration of these



Cat. 16a. Philips Galle after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Fortitude* (*Fortitudo*), 1560, from the series *The Seven Virtues*. Engraving. Private collection

themes may have helped inspire Cock to revive Hameel's engraving. For his mid-century audience in Antwerp, the print's association with Bosch, coupled with Bruegel's own work in a similar vein, would have further affirmed the perception of Bruegel as a second Bosch.

As in Cock's *Last Judgment* triptych (cat. 14), which was also inspired in part by Hameel's model (cat. 12), the most dramatic updates to *The Besieged Elephant* manifest in the representation of the human form. Several figures have been given more classical poses, such as the man flailing in the grip of the elephant's trunk, extending his muscular arms, and the soldier at the animal's rear tumbling upside down from a ladder in an equally expressive posture. In the foreground, a man curled on the ground, who recalls one of several such figures in Hameel's composition, is juxtaposed beside a man dramatically splayed below a tripod ladder on wheels, as if crucified.

New characters appear as well who were not present in the original engraving, most notably the two corrupt tonsured monks—one halfway in the background on the left, the other in the lower right corner—who greedily raid injured men for their purses. There is also a man reaching out from inside a round armament on the far right who smiles and displays a jug in his hand, as if he is drunkenly oblivious to the battle surrounding him. These vignettes emphasize vices such as gluttony and greed in a manner quite different than Hameel's engraving. Indeed, this



Cat. 16b. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Anger (Ira)*, 1558, from the series *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Engraving. Private collection

rendition of *Besieged Elephant* excludes all the other animals found in the original image, emphasizing the combat between men more than that between man and beast.

The body of the elephant itself, like those of the human fighters, has become far more modeled and wizened, with a clear attempt to depict the texture of the animal's skin. There was an elephant paraded through the Netherlands in September 1563, a gift from Philip II of Spain to Emperor Ferdinand I, which arrived at the port of Zeeland and was transported by land to Antwerp.⁵ Its presence inspired several drawings and responses in print, including a woodcut by Jan Mollijs (cat. 16c) and an etching by Gerard van Groeningen, both of which are augmented by inscriptions describing this remarkable event.⁶ Although it has been suggested that the elephant's visit—and the market demand for its documentation—may have motivated Cock's publication of *The Besieged Elephant*, the animal's depiction in the engraving hardly attests to study from life and makes no reference to the contemporary context.⁷ Despite the added detail to the elephant's body, its small head and oversized splayed ear still follow Hameel's prototype. The long afterlife of Albrecht Dürer's famous 1515 woodcut of a rhinoceros, persistent even after more accurate representations of the animal were available, parallels more closely Cock's accomplishment here in extending the circulation of an image associated with a Boschian prototype.⁸ It was the authority and celebrity of Bosch that constituted the engraving's most essential point of reference, and which inspired its reissue into the seventeenth century.⁹ – M.B.



Cat. 16c. Jan Molljns, *September 24th (Strong on My Feet)*, 1563.
Woodcut. The British Museum, London 1928,0310.97

Notes

1 A. J. J. Delen, “Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar,” *De Gulden Passer* 10 (1932): 6: “2 Batailles d’Olyphants’ appear among the prints that Plantin received from Cock on 29 December, 1568. In the 1601 inventory of *Aux Quatre Vents* taken after Volxcken Diericx’s death, the image is also described as ‘Een coperen plaete van den Storm van den Oliphant.’” See Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols. (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Kunstwetenschappen, 1984–2009), 1:28.

2 Compare on this point Vandenbroeck 2002, 118–20.

3 Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*, 9.8.

4 “Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, caetera[ue] vitia et, affectus / cohibere, vera fortitudo est” (“To conquer one’s impulses, to restrain anger and the other vices and emotions; this is the true fortitude”). Translation from Orenstein 2001, 189, no. 75.

5 Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume II: A Century of Wonder* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 150–53.

6 For the etching, dated 1563 and inscribed with a poem by a certain Hugo Favolius, see New Hollstein (Gerard van Groenigen, pt. I), 24. For Molljns’s woodcut, see also Susan Dackerman, ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard Art Museums, 2011), 160–61, no. 34.

7 Matthijs IJink, “Bosch, Bruegel and the Netherlandish Tradition,” in van Grieken et al. 2013, 246–47, no. 61.

8 See Dackerman, *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge*, 163–83; and Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 283–92.

9 See the second state (1601) published by Paul de la Houve in Paris. Lafond 2002, 25, with impressions in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. RP-P-OB-3079) and Albertina, Vienna (inv. no. DG 1957/139).



CAT. I 7

Pieter van der Heyden (b. Antwerp, c. 1530–d. after March 1572, Berchem) in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Blind Leading the Blind, n.d.

Engraving, i/v

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image: 8 9/16 × 10 1/16 in. (21.7 × 25.6 cm)

Sheet: 8 5/8 × 10 1/8 in. (21.9 × 25.7 cm), trimmed within platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 21); Hollstein (Cock, no. 136); Hollstein (Heyden, no. 20); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 102; De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 124; Riggs 1977, no. 12; Vandenbroeck 1987, 40–41; Koldeweij et al. 2001, 150; Lafond 2002, no. 16; Luttikhuisen 2010, no. 34

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

PAME [monogram: Pieter van der Heyden]

H. Bos. inventor

H. Cock. excud[it]

in the lower margin:

Caecus ducem se praebet alteri caeco;
Quod saepe nunc usu venire, lugendum est.
Quid restat autem? quid? nisi ut viae ignari,
Qua destinatum consequi scopum detur,
Tandem in patentem uterque corruiant fossam?

Voyez comment le pauvre aveugle en fin se porte,
Qui sur un autre aveugle ignoramment se fie.
Il va mal assure, quoy que fort il s'appuye.
Et se tienne à son homme. Ainsi par male sorte
Tombent dans le fosse et luy, et son escorte.



CAT. 18

Pieter van der Heyden (b. Antwerp, c. 1530–d. after March 1572, Berchem) in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Blind Leading the Blind, n.d.

Engraving, iv/v

Published by Joannes Galle, Antwerp

Sheet: 8 9/16 × 10 in. (21.7 × 25.4 cm), trimmed to image

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: See cat. 17

INSCRIPTIONS:

Identical to cat. 17, with additional text within the image:

Ioan. Galle excudit [replacing H. Cock. excudit(it)]

CAECUS SI CAECO DUCATUM PRAESTET,
AMBO IN FOVEAM CADUNT. Matth. 18, 14.

Si un aveugle conduit un aveugle, tous
deux cherront en la fosse.

Is 't dat eenen blinden eenen blinden leydt,
soo vallen sy beyde inde gracht.

added in the lower margin:

G.

Pieter van der Heyden's engraving of *The Blind Leading the Blind*, originally published by Hieronymus Cock (cat. 17), was popular enough to go through five states: the plate changed hands no less than four times and was printed well into the seventeenth century.¹ An impression from the fourth state published by Joannes Galle in or before 1638 (cat. 18) includes a new scriptural verse added to the plate. This text from the Gospel of Matthew recalls the miracle of Christ restoring the sight of two blind men who, although they could not see him, had recognized him by his power. Biblical references to physical blindness typically serve as metaphors for spiritual blindness, and the "pit" into which such misguided blind men are destined to fall in Matthew's original admonishment against such folly threatened greater peril than an ordinary roadside ditch.²

In van der Heyden's depiction, Matthew's "pit" is quite literally a ditch, or rather a watery *sloot* (drainage ditch), a more appropriate interpretation for the low-lying Netherlands.³ Two wizened blind men with pilgrim's staffs and caps stumble blithely into the water at the foreground of a bucolic landscape, having wandered far off the path. The man in front, who carries a musical instrument known as a hurdy-gurdy at his hip, seems barely to flinch at suddenly being knee-deep in water, his reach forward with one hand to the opposite bank and simultaneously back with the other to steady himself on his partner's knee suggesting the tortured nature of the pair's progress. His companion teeters after him, the travel gear he carries on his back—basket, gourd, funnel—visible under his jacket. Some distance behind them a second pair of blind men similarly outfitted miss a plank bridge entirely as they go tumbling into the stream, their little dog pulling back but powerless to help them. Or has the artist depicted the same pair repeatedly losing their way?

The scallop shell—or more likely a shell-shaped ornament—seen on the hats of the men in the foreground was a universal symbol of the Christian pilgrim, providing not only spiritual sustenance to the wearer but also entitling him to free food and lodging along his route.⁴ However, if the walking staffs and scallop shells suggest these two are pious pilgrims, the hurdy-gurdy says otherwise. A drone instrument like the bagpipe, the hurdy-gurdy was played by turning a crank on the sound box, setting a wheel in motion that in turn vibrates a set of strings (not visible in the engraving); a small keyboard allows a tune to be played.⁵ In medieval manuscripts, the hurdy-gurdy was first depicted in a devotional context, but it took on a more negative connotation by the fifteenth century. The instrument repeatedly appears as the sign of a blind beggar, frequently identifying such characters as dishonest, potentially evil ne'er-do-wells on society's fringes; indeed, blindness in the medieval and early modern period was equated with sin, and the blind were considered evil, their infirmity due to demonic influence.⁶

Bosch is credited as the earliest artist to depict this subject independently, and he also included blind men in a variety of guises in his triptychs from the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* to *The Haywain*.⁷ A negative role for the hurdy-gurdy itself is affirmed by the inclusion of a giant, stringless hurdy-gurdy as a central element in the tortuous musical ensemble in the Hell panel of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. The naked figure atop this

instrument awkwardly turning its crank is identified as a beggar by the bowl he holds, while the darkness around his eye sockets has been interpreted to suggest blindness.⁸ The crippled and blind hurdy-gurdy player whose jacket transforms into a devil's tail and who is part of the group of demonic merry-makers at the center of Bosch's *St. Anthony* triptych bears a remarkable physiognomic resemblance to the second blind man in van der Heyden's engraving. Other examples include a blind man led by a child who appears in *The Haywain* and two awkward figures—a blind man with his dog following a crippled man on crutches—who appear tiny in the distance behind St. James of Compostela on the outer wing of the Bosch's *Last Judgment*. On this panel, the saint, with a scallop shell on his hat, is shown as the ur-pilgrim in the desert, in contrast to the blind men, who are false pilgrims.⁹ It is just such false-pilgrim characters who are foregrounded in the van der Heyden engraving, but, a half-century after Bosch's death, a more human-scale sense of worldly dishonesty has supplanted the connection of physical infirmity with demonic influence.

Two independent paintings of blind men by Bosch were recorded in the collection of the Brussels-born Spanish nobleman Don Felipe de Guevara, who was author of a treatise on art and an early commentator on Bosch. King Philip II of Spain acquired this collection in 1570 from Guevara's heirs, although the works would seem to have been known in the Netherlands, as many motifs from these paintings appear in the Boschian prints issued in Antwerp.¹⁰ Among the Guevara/Philip II paintings described in multiple inventories are two watercolors on canvas of the blind: one depicting an old blind man leading another with a blind woman behind them, and a second showing blind men fighting over a boar.¹¹ Many paintings by Bosch in the Spanish royal inventories were described as watercolor on canvas, and it is unsurprising that none of these works in this notoriously fragile medium survive.¹² The literature tends to assume that van der Heyden's engraving is the sole surviving record of the first work, yet the absence of a blind woman in the engraving means that it is certainly not an exact copy.¹³ A woman does appear with a blind man who plays a hurdy-gurdy in the drawing and prints of cripples and beggars in the manner of Bosch (cat. 2, 3), reinforcing the notion that the designers of these mid-sixteenth-century works would freely pick and choose motifs from works considered to be either by Bosch or inspired by him.

The parable of the blind was a new subject in sixteenth-century Netherlandish art, although other stories of the blind were already present in European pictorial traditions.¹⁴ For example, the second watercolor by Bosch from the Guevara/Philip II collection depicted a group of blind men fighting over a boar, a subject that also appears in the St. Martin tapestry discussed in relationship to *Saint Martin with His Horse in a Ship* (cat. 7). This refers to a seemingly cruel game in which blind men were suited with armor and sent into an enclosure where they were encouraged to club a boar that they would later be able to feast on. Needless to say, in the frenzy of the chase, the blind men would club each other at least as much as the animal. That this event occurred amid the carnivalesque atmosphere of Shrovetide may somewhat assure modern viewers that it was not conducted regularly as a ritual blood bath, although it serves as a reminder of the negative views held by sixteenth-century society toward the blind and other marginal groups as an unreliable class of vagrants, beggars, and cheats.¹⁵

The original van der Heyden engraving is not dated in the plate, but because it carries the inscription “H. Cock excud” we know that it was published no later than 1570, the year Cock died and before his widow began applying the firm’s name, Aux Quatre Vents, to the prints she initiated.¹⁶ The work is therefore roughly contemporary to several other Netherlandish prints dating from about the 1540s to the 1580s that also depict the subject of the blind leading the blind. Possibly the earliest of these was a tiny engraving by the Antwerp engraver Cornelis Massys, in which four blind men dominate the landscape: the first has already fallen into the ditch, and the others follow closely behind.¹⁷ A similar grouping of monumental figures all in a row, this time six of them, is the focus of a painting on linen by Pieter Bruegel the Elder from 1568 (cat. 17a). All of the compositions discussed thus far include large figures stumbling across a landscape, and in each, at least one man carries the familiar hurdy-gurdy, but the number of figures and the landscape details vary, from van der Heyden’s two pairs of figures and a farmhouse to Bruegel’s six men near a village replete with a church.¹⁸

Van der Heyden himself made another engraving of the subject, also undated, this one signed with a Dutch version of his name, “Pieter Verheyden,” and with the design credited to Hans Bol. The change of landscape details supports that attribution to this prolific contemporary of Bruegel.¹⁹ With so few secure dates among these compositions, all that we know is that the Massys seems consistent with his work from the 1540s, and that Bruegel’s painted version is dated 1568. The van der Heyden prints are quite different in their details, suggesting two artistic interpreters of the same Boschian model. It is nonetheless impossible to say whether one or both of the van der Heyden prints preceded or followed the Bruegel.²⁰ Was Bruegel aware of van der Heyden’s engravings as well as the Massys? Did the four works perhaps share a single Boschian source? Unlike *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (cat. 11), with its autograph drawing signed by Bruegel, no drawing survives for the van der Heyden carrying Bosch’s or anyone else’s name. Regardless of the missing details, however, these works do, like *Big Fish*, represent a form of competitive borrowing and reimagining of known themes and motifs in the work of Bosch.²¹

That market interest in such subject matter was enduring is evident from the print’s reissue many decades later in the mid-seventeenth century by Joannes Galle, one of twenty-seven prints—many of them after Bosch and Bruegel and many originally published by Cock—that were appended to the Saint Louis Art Museum’s copy of Galle’s 1638 *Speculum diversarum imaginum speculativarum* (cat. 33). Joannes was the third generation in the Galle publishing firm that had been founded by his grandfather Philips Galle, who had worked for Cock in the 1550s and 1560s before starting to publish his own plates and developing an important stock.²² Joannes capitalized on this legacy when he published 186 plates from the firm’s archives as the *Speculum*. While some of the *Speculum* prints were initiated by the Galles, the firm acquired many of them second-hand from other publishers, including the Boschian prints such as *The Blind Leading the Blind*, *The Blue Boat* (cat. 33b), and others, which were printed from the very same plates Cock had commissioned decades prior. Joannes added inscriptions to these plates, such as the verse from Matthew. It is difficult to say with precision why this was done, but one can speculate



Cat. 17a. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Blind Leading the Blind*, 1568. Distemper on linen. Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples

that the audience in the 1630s, a generation far removed from when such prints first appeared, would have appreciated, if not always needed, explicit interpretation of the themes. Such additions also allowed Joannes to “own” the plates, distinguishing them from their historical selves. Whatever the reasons, this tradition continued into the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when plates from the early seventeenth century were frequently republished with updated explanatory or descriptive inscriptions. – E.W.

Notes

- 1 The states are as follows: (i) with the address of Hieronymus Cock and the verses as in cat. 17; (ii) the address of Hieronymus Cock removed; (iii) with the address of Theodoor Galle; (iv) with the address of Joannes Galle; (v) with the address of Claes Jansz Visscher.
- 2 For biblical discussions of blindness, see Matthew 9:27–31; 15:14; 20:29–34; Mark 8:22–26; 10:46–52; and Luke 6:39; 18:35–43.
- 3 Carl Gustaf Stridbeck, *Bruegelstudien; Untersuchungen zu den ikonologischen Problemen bei Pieter Bruegel d. Ä., sowie dessen Beziehungen zum niederländischen Romanismus. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis 2* (series) (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), 262. In a discussion of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's 1568 painting of the subject in Naples, Stridbeck suggests rather that the transposition from pit to stream is because flowing water could be symbolically associated with sin.
- 4 A. M. Koldewey, "Het zijn niet allen slagers die lange messen dragen," in H. J. E. van Beuningen and Koldewey, eds., *Heilig en Profaan: 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insignes uit de collectie H. J. E. van Beuningen*. (Cothen: Stichting Middeleeuwse Religieuze en Profane Insignes, 1993), 33–34.
- 5 Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 66–85, esp. 66–68.
- 6 Kahren Jones Hellerstedt, "Hurdy-Gurdies from Hieronymus Bosch to Rembrandt" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1980), 56.
- 7 Ibid., 42, 105–06. Hellerstedt argues that the depiction of blind men with hurdy-gurdies was limited to the Netherlands in the sixteenth century.
- 8 Bax 1979, 203; Charles D. Cuttler, "The Lisbon Temptation of St. Anthony," in Cuttler, *Hieronymus Bosch: Late Work* (London: The Pindar Press, 2012), 58–101; Hellerstedt, "Hurdy-Gurdies," 76.
- 9 The tomb of St. James the Greater in Santiago da Compostela, Spain, is one of Christianity's most celebrated and visited pilgrimage sites.
- 10 Don Felipe de Guevara was a discerning collector of Netherlandish art as his father, Diego de Guevara, had been. Diego and/or Felipe were known to have owned six paintings by Bosch, including *The Haywain* and the tabletop of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, both now in the Prado, Madrid. On Guevara and his collection, see Juan Allende-Salazar, "Don Felipe de Guevara: coleccionista y escritor de arte del siglo XVI," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 1 (1925): 189–92; J. K. Steppe, "Jheronimus Bosch: Bijdrage tot de historische en de ikonografische studie van zijn werk," in *Jheronimus Bosch: Bijdragen bij de gelegenheid van de herdenkingstentoonstelling te 's-Hertogenbosch 1967* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Stichting Jeroen Bosch Expositie, 1967), 5, 14, 21; Walter S. Gibson, "Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man: The Authorship and Iconography of the 'Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins,'" *Oud Holland*, 86.4 (1973): 207; Paul Vandenbroeck, "The Spanish inventarios reales and Hieronymus Bosch," in Jos Koldewey and Bernard Vermet, eds., *Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 49–63; and Elena Vázquez Dueñas, "Felipe de Guevara: Algunas aportaciones biográficas," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 18 (2008): 95–110. Regarding recent mentions of Guevara on Bosch, see Alejandra Giménez-Berger, "Ethics and Economies of Art in Renaissance Spain: Felipe de Guevara's *Commentario de la pintura y pintores antiguos*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 67.1 (2014): 83n11.
- 11 Pilar Silva Maroto, "Bosch in Spain: On the Works Recorded in the Royal Inventories," in Koldewey and Vermet, eds., *Bosch: New Insights*, 41–46; and Vandenbroeck in ibid., 49–63. Bruegel's own *Blind Leading the Blind*, as well as a recently rediscovered watercolor painting by him now in the Prado, are good examples of this phenomenon. See Pilar Silva Maroto and Manfred Sellink, "The Rediscovery of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's 'Wine of St. Martin's Day,' Acquired for the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid," *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (2011): 784–93.

12 It is unclear precisely how or when the Bosch paintings of blind men were lost or destroyed, but the successive royal inventories record many paintings that fell into poor condition and/or were less and less appreciated by successive generations. See Silva Maroto, "Bosch in Spain," 41, 46.

13 Hellerstedt argues that while it is not an exact copy, as none of the other prints from the time are exact copies, it does reproduce the main elements of the Bosch painting, either from the painting itself or a surrogate that was available in Antwerp. Hellerstedt, "Hurdy-Gurdies," 110. See also Vandenbroeck 1987, 40–41, fig. 10. Larry Silver argues that it continued the Boschian tradition, acknowledging that Cock would not have had access to the painting in the Guevara collection in Madrid and suggesting there may have been another replica or "the thematic invention was 're-created' as a 'Bosch' design". Silver "Second Bosch: Family Resemblance and the Marketing of Art," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999): 54n24.

14 See Hellerstedt, "Hurdy-Gurdies," for a thorough discussion of the examples.

15 See cat. 19–24 for a discussion of Carnival, the carnivalesque, and the world upside down.

16 See Hellerstedt, "Hurdy-Gurdies," 128–34 for a discussion of the dating in the literature. She suggests that it is early, circa 1560–61.

17 Jan van der Stock, *Cornelis Massys 1510/11–1556/57: Oeuvre graphique*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1985), cat. 100. Van der Stock dates it between 1544 and 1556 on the basis of the signature, noting that Y. Mori suggests the date is circa 1545 (no explanation given). Y. Mori, "The Influence of German and Flemish Prints on the Works of Pieter Bruegel the Elder," *Bulletin of Toma Art School* 2 (1976): 17–60. Other prints of the subject not discussed here include: Johan Wierix, *The Blind Leading the Blind*, from the series *Twelve Proverbs*, n.d., engraving, New Hollstein (Wierix, nos. 1861–77); Hendrick Goltzius, *The Blind Leading the Blind*, 1586, engraving, Hollstein (Goltzius, no. 111).

18 The Bruegel painting has been much discussed; see Stridbeck, *Bruegelstudien*, 263–65; Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*, 128–30; and Manfred Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings, and Prints* (Ghent: Ludion, 2007): 252–53.

19 This print was published by the obscure Joos de Bosscher and is dated 1561 in the literature, but that date remains suspect. I. H. van Eeghen provides the fullest information on Bosscher, who emigrated from Antwerp to Amsterdam, becoming a citizen there in 1587 and dying there in 1591. He is most noted for having published the work of Jacques de Gheyn. More study might reveal whether van der Heyden's use of the Dutch form of his name indicates anything about the date. On Bosscher, see I. H. van Eeghen, "Cornelis Claesz en Joost (de) Bosscher op Nova Zembla," *Amstelodamum* 67 (1980): 134–38; I. Q. van Regteren-Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn. Three generations* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1983); New Hollstein (de Gheyn), xxiv–xxv. See Hellerstedt, "Hurdy-Gurdies," esp. 128–32 for discussion of the confusion.

20 Further study would be required into van der Heyden's and Bosscher's careers to determine if some clues to dating can be divined from this collaboration and/or van der Heyden's use of the Dutch version of his name.

21 See Hellerstedt, "Hurdy-Gurdies," 106–08 for discussion of the debates surrounding attribution. Otto Kurz mentions a correlation between the van der Heyden engraving and the imposing figures of Bruegel's late landscapes, but arguably Bosch's *Peddler* in Rotterdam or the outer wings of *The Haywain* are similarly large-scale figures dominating a landscape. Kurz, "Four Tapestries after Hieronymus Bosch," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967): 150–62.

22 For discussion of the Galle family, see cat. 33 as well as my "Hieronymus Cock and the Invention of the Print Market in Antwerp," in this volume.



CAT. 19

Pieter van der Heyden (b. Antwerp, c. 1530–d. after March 1572, Berchem)
in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Blue Boat, 1559

Engraving, i/ii

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image: 9 × 11 3/4 in. (22.9 × 29.8 cm)

Platemark: 9 1/8 × 11 13/16 in. (23.2 × 30 cm)

Sheet: 9 1/4 × 12 in. (23.5 × 30.5 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 20); Hollstein (Cock, no. 135); Hollstein (Heyden, no. 47); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 98; De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 117; Riggs 1977, no. 13; Bax 1979, 262–63; Unverfehrt 1980, 227, 285–86, 144; Kavalier 1999, 122–23; Lafond 2002, 15; Vandenbroeck 2002, 79; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 320–22; Luttikhuisen 2010, no. 31; Van Grieken et al. 2013, no. 63a

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

die blau Schuijte

Hieronijmus Bos Inventor

PAME [monogram: Pieter van der Heyden]

Cock excudebat 1559

cum gratia et privilegio

in the lower margin:

Daer platbroeck speelman is en stierman in de bane

Daer sien hem de voghelen voer eenen huijben ane

En al tiert sijn gheselschap datse moghen sweeten

Het sullen de sanghers in de blau schuijte heeten

A relatively straightforward scene of maritime revelry at first glance, this engraving is nevertheless rich in entwined allusions, part of a small but striking group of images published by Hieronymus Cock that display Netherlandish Carnival traditions (cat. 20–23). The first clue to the cause of the merrymaking can be found in the words inscribed on the boat's side that identify it as *die blau schuijte*, or “the blue boat,” which not coincidentally is also the name of the tavern in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Battle Between Carnival and Lent* (cat. 19a), painted the same year. The metaphor of a boatload of dissolute partiers is at the core of the well-known book by Sebastian Brandt, *Ship of Fools*, first published in Nuremberg “at Shrovetide, which one calls the Fool's Festival” in 1494, yet it is no doubt the make-believe “guild of the blue boat” to which the composition most directly refers.¹

This fantastical guild, one of the most beloved vehicles for Carnival satire in the Netherlands, is known from a text preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript. The poem, which links the guild specifically (like Brandt's *Ship of Fools*) to annual Carnival celebrations, sets forth the topsy-turvy guidelines for guild membership, inviting all manner of society of ill-repute, high, middle, and low, to band together with other drunkards and ne'er-do-wells during Carnival season.²

Hieronymus Bosch's painting known as *The Ship of Fools* (cat. 19b) and a related drawing also contain gregarious partiers, but although the literature often references this engraving as *Ship of Fools* in connection with the Bosch painting, the two look very different.³ Both, however, capitalize on the allegorical use of watercraft that might all too easily drift from

the path of virtue to sin and folly, a metaphor already present in medieval literature that flourished after the publication of Brandt's book. Indeed, it is perhaps no accident that Carnival street celebrations included (and still include) parades of decorated floats, even sometimes boats on wheels.⁴

The essence of Carnival lies in immoderate behavior (eating, drinking, dancing, sex, violence) paired with the fabrication of a satirical, no-holds-barred world turned upside down, in which high and low, rich and poor, male and female, clergy and lay populations, wisdom and folly, and pretty much every other aspect of life trade places.⁵ In sixteenth-century Netherlands, Carnival, or carnivalesque festivities, were dispersed throughout much of the winter season, occurring at intervals between St. Martin's on November 11, when the new wine harvest was celebrated, and Easter.⁶ The boatloads of drunken revelers that appear in the Boschian print of St. Martin published by Hieronymus Cock (cat. 7) reinforces this early onset of the Antwerp Carnival season.

Dated 1559, *The Blue Boat*, as well as the other Carnival prints in this exhibition, might be read as a response—albeit indirect—to their particular time of building unrest against the rule of Philip II in the Netherlands.⁷ Censorship was draconian, and overt political criticism nonexistent, but the upside-down world of Carnival and the intense focus on, or “aesthetisizing” of, local rituals, as Paul Vandenbroeck has put it, can be seen as a means of liberation.⁸ Given the political circumstances of an oppressive Catholic king suppressing local traditions and tightly controlling the printing of images and texts, it might seem ironic that *The Blue Boat* is inscribed with an official privilege—“cum gratia et privilegio,” an early form of copyright protection—as though specifically sanctioned by the authorities. It should be said, however, that privileges were requested from a government authority in order to protect a printer's investment, and it was often, if not exclusively, done for time-sensitive products such as maps and portraits. This is the only Boschian print that appears with a privilege, and it might be speculated either that the popularity of the motif made it worth Cock's while, or perhaps it was intended to add to the mock importance of the subject.⁹



Cat. 19a. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Battle Between Carnival and Lent*, 1559. Oil on panel. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Political strife would seem far from the minds of the passengers in *The Blue Boat* and their thin, quizzical pilot. The verse below confers upon the man the nickname “Skinny Pants” and tells us that the birds that swarm around his head take him for an “owl,” a bird with malleable symbolism but which must identify the pilot as a fool, given the derisive context here.¹⁰ This designation is further reinforced by the monk’s cowl that falls loosely around his shoulders and displays a coat of arms not unlike the two-sided costume of the fool leading a couple through Bruegel’s *Battle Between Carnival and Lent*.¹¹ Since the pilot carries a harp on his back it might be expected that he would lead the group in song, but with its curiously configured strings, it surely can’t make music, nor can Skinny Pants simultaneously steer and play, according to the verse.

What to make of this comical bowed figure who is so inept that he cannot prevent the birds from building a nest beneath the drinking mug that crowns his own head? It is perhaps instructive to look toward his obvious counterpart, the fat man lolling and singing in the center of the boat who might be seen as a personification of Carnival opposite the pilot’s ineffectual Lent, an opposition further underscored in the foreground by the bird on the right, perhaps a magpie, that cackles at the brooding fowl on the left. Indeed, Skinny Pants’s cowl echoes that of Madame Lent’s in Bruegel’s own painted representation of the conflict between her and “Prince Carnival,” and both works continue a venerable tradition of depicting battling personifications of these two diametrically opposed seasons, a practice with links to Bosch.¹² A painting of the subject by a follower of Bosch (cat. 19c) features characters in clerical garb as well as such details as the skewered pig’s head and the fish on a platter that also occur in the Bruegel painting.

Even as the man who crouches beneath the pilot in *The Blue Boat* clasps his ear while his companions sing, their revelry might seem comparatively tame, and yet a close reading of the print is revealing. Carnival’s frank sexual side is evident in the cherry-like fruits the pilot holds in his right hand, which would be suggestive of female genitalia in most European languages, and eating cherries can mean to make love.¹³ Similar fruits abound in the central panel of Bosch’s *Garden of Earthly Delights*, where the sexual connotations are clear. These fruits may not be cherries at all but the fruit of the strawberry tree, or *madroño*, as *The Garden of Earthly Delights* was called in early Spanish royal inventories.¹⁴ The fruit of the strawberry tree is red and round like a cherry, but it hangs in pairs from a single split stem, just like the specimen in Skinny Pants’s hands.¹⁵ As such, the fruit seems not only to suggest female sexuality but the pilot’s own male anatomy as well, especially when considered alongside the finger-sized phallic knob of his steering cane, all of which lends a bawdy note to this fool.¹⁶



Cat. 19b. Hieronymus Bosch,
The Ship of Fools, 1510–15.
Oil on wood. Musée du Louvre, Paris



Cat. 19c. After Hieronymus Bosch, *Battle Between Carnival and Lent*, n.d. Oil on panel.
Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp

Even more intriguing is the young woman at the center of the group, whose curiously impassive expression is remarkably like that of brides in paintings by Bruegel and his contemporaries. Her calm, almost abject countenance can suggest the bride is “sweet,” i.e., already pregnant. However, it was also proper for brides to sit quietly throughout the nuptial feast, placidly accepting compliments and gifts.¹⁷ In Bruegel’s *Avarice*, the central allegorical figure sits “like a bride,” calmly transferring the riches into her lap from the chest beside her (cat. 19d). Adding weight to this interpretation is both the fact that *schuit*, which translates as “boat” or “barge,” could also refer to “wedding boat,” and the contemporary proverbial expression “to sit by the bride” suggested something to the effect of “sitting with the fools” or suffering the consequences of their foolishness, notably apt for this crew.¹⁸ Of course, the woman here is not a bride in any literal sense; rather, her resemblance to a bride would perhaps be suggestive of the immoderate sexual activity characteristic of Carnival, particularly given the absence on her head of the wreath brides wore to testify to their virginity.¹⁹ Instead she wears elaborately arranged headgear, much like the old woman to her right and the man who conducts the group’s song to her left. This is archaic, more in keeping with a late-fifteenth-century portrait by Rogier van der Weyden than with the time of Bruegel and Cock. – E.W.



Cat. 19d. Pieter van der Heyden after Peter Bruegel the Elder, *Avarice (Avaritia)* (detail), 1558, from the series *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Engraving.
Private collection

Notes

- 1 For a thorough investigation of the text, see Herman Pleij, *Het gilde van de Blauwe Schuit: literatuur, volksfeest en burgermoraal in de late middeleeuwen* [1983] (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009).
- 2 Pleij, *Het gilde*, 9; and Ben Parsons and Bas Jongenelen, eds., *Comic Drama in the Low Countries, c. 1450–1560: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge and New York: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 35–60.
- 3 The drawing is attributed in Koreny 2012, 236–38, cat. 17, to the workshop of the Prado *Haywagon* painter. Michel Foucault cites (and creatively misreads) the *Blauwe Schuit* text as well as Bosch's painting as an example of a form of fool's prison, in which the insane were kept floating on the Rhine indefinitely. See Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Vintage, 1965), 7–17.
- 4 Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 426–46; Pleij, *Het gilde*, 195–97; and Yona Pinson, *The Fools' Journey: A Myth of Obsession in Northern Renaissance Art* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 63–67. On the fundamental importance of processions in the urban experience, see Emily Jo Peters, "Den gheheelen loop des weerelts: Printed Processions and the Theater of Identity in Antwerp during the Dutch Revolt" (PhD diss., University of California–Santa Barbara, 2005), 5–6; and Parsons and Jongenelen, *Comic Drama*, 36–37.
- 5 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 259, 265; and Pleij, *Het gilde*, 14, 18.
- 6 Burke, *Popular Culture*, 279–80; and Herman Pleij, "Van Vastelavond tot Carnaval," in Charles de Mooij, ed. *Vastenavond-Carnaval. Feesten van de omgekeerde wereld* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Noordbrabants Museum, with Waanders Uitgevers, 1992), 13, notes carnivalesque activity might occur on the following dates: Saint-Nicholas, Dec. 6; Holy Innocents' Day, Dec. 28; New Year's Day; Three Kings, Jan. 6; Candlemas, Feb. 2; Leap Day, Feb. 29; April 1; and even in the days before Easter. See as well, Martin W. Walsh, "'Martinmesse': The Archaeology of a Forgotten Festival," *Folklore* 111 (2000): 231–54; Martin W. Walsh "Martinsnacht as an Early Locus of Carnavalesque Study," *Medieval Folklore* 3 (1994): 127–65; Walsh, "'Martin y muchos pobres. Grotesque Versions of the Charity of St. Martin in the Bosch and Bruegel Schools," *Medieval Studies* 14 (1998): 107–20.
- 7 For discussion of the political atmosphere in the Netherlands at the time, see my "Hieronymus Cock and the Invention of the Print Market in Antwerp," in this volume.
- 8 Vandenbroeck 1987, 212–13. For discussion of strict controls over the printing trades, see Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp. The Introduction of Printmaking in a City: Fifteenth Century to 1585*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1997), 43–56, 157, 182. See also Robert Scribner, "Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down," *Social History* 3.3 (1978): 322–26, with references to Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).
- 9 Van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*, 143–47.
- 10 Yona Pinson notes the fool in the Louvre painting wears a similar badge. Pinson, *The Fools' Journey*, 159.
- 11 P. G. J. van Sterckenburg defines *huijen* as an owl, a nickname, or a term of abuse for an unintelligent person. Sterckenburg, *Een Glossarium van Zeventiende-Eeuws Nederlands*, 3rd ed. (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1981), 102. On this print and the owl as a symbol of folly, see Bax 1979, 211–12, and for an extended interpretation of the engraving's details, including the owl characterization, see Pinson, *A Fool's Journey*, 158–60. She further draws a connection (p. 160) to the malformed harpist in the Boschian *Saint Martin* print (cat. 7).
- 12 For a general discussion of the theme, see Martine Grinberg and Sam Kinser, "Les combats de Carnaval et de Carême. Trajets d'une métaphore," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 38 (1983): 65–98; for specific discussions of Bosch, Bruegel, and other Netherlandish examples, see Vandenbroeck 1987, 339–46; Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 111–48; Joseph Koerner, "Impossible Objects: Bosch's Realism," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 46 (2004): 73–97; Margaret D. Carroll, "Breaking Bonds: Marriage and Community in Bruegel's *Netherlandish Proverbs* and *Carnival and Lent*," in Carroll, *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe: Van Eyck, Bruegel, Rubens, and Their Contemporaries* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 28–63.
- 13 Bax 1979, 251–52.
- 14 Gerd Unverfehrt, *Wein statt Wasser. Essen und Trinken bei Hieronymus Bosch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2003), 19–26; and Reindert L. Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness: Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011), 18–22.
- 15 See illustration in Unverfehrt, *Wein statt Wasser*, 23.
- 16 Regarding such sexual innuendoes being rampant in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, see Eddy de Jongh, "Erotica in vogelperspectief. De dubbellinnigheid van een reeks 17de-eeuwse genrevoorstellingen," *Simiolus* 3 (1968–69): 22–74.
- 17 Paul Vandenbroeck, "Verbeeck's Peasant Weddings: A Study of Iconography and Social Function," *Simiolus* 14 (1984): 96; Walter S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 39, 179n30; Walter S. Gibson, *Figures of Speech: Picturing Proverbs in Renaissance Netherlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 105–06.
- 18 Walter S. Gibson, "Bosch's Dreams: A Response to the Art of Bosch in the Sixteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 36–37; Sterckenburg, *Een Glossarium*, 212.
- 19 Bax 1979 identifies a woman with a double-pointed head cloth as a prostitute (p. 122) and notes the depiction of procuresses in witch-like terms with sharp nose and chin and wearing a wimple (p. 124).



CAT. 20

Pieter van der Heyden (b. Antwerp, c. 1530–d. after March 1572, Berchem)
in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

Merrymakers in a Mussel Shell, 1562

Engraving, only state

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image and platemark: 7 11/16 × 11 3/16 in. (19.5 × 28.4 cm)

Sheet: 7 3/4 × 11 1/4 in. (19.7 × 28.6 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 27); Hollstein (Cock, no. 140); Hollstein (Heyden, no. 50); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 99; De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 118; Riggs 1977, no. 14; Bax 1979, 258–59; Unverfehrt 1980, 227, 285–86, no. 144; Lafond 2002, no. 26; Vandenbroeck 2002, 78; Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 321–22; Ilsink 2009, 208–11; Luttikhuisen 2010, no. 32; Van Grieken et al. 2013, no. 63b

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

PAME [monogram: Pieter van der Heyden]

Heronimus bos inve[nit]

H Cock ex[cudit]

1562

Like *The Blue Boat* (cat. 19), the vessel in which these revelers sail floats aimlessly on the water, but while the earlier print emphasizes drunken singing and leaves its sexual references oblique, *Merrymakers in a Mussel Shell* is more explicit. Not only does the pair at the “bow” of the shell, identified by the habits they wear as a monk and nun no less, engage in a passionate embrace, the entire party is drifting about in an oversized and obvious symbol of sexuality, as mussels were considered an aphrodisiac as well as a stand-in for female sexual anatomy.¹ A similarly strange site appears in another Boschian musical party, the roughly contemporary painting *Concert in an Egg* (cat. 20a). Although the bivalves could, ironically, also be associated with Lent, as evidenced by the pot of mussels on the cart of Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s *Madame Lent* (cat. 19a), it is another depiction by Bruegel that provides a more apt reference here: the pair of lovers embracing in an enormous mussel shell perched atop a fantastical tree at the center of the engraving *Lust* (cat. 20b) from Bruegel’s series *The Seven Deadly Sins*, his most directly Bosch-inspired composition. Indeed, this image of lovers in a shell is borrowed from *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. The general sense of debauchery here is reinforced by the man who vomits overboard; with one hand he still clutches his drinking mug while with the other he grasps his bagpipes, a notorious instrument of sexual innuendo, notably detumescent due to its owner’s overindulgence.

Multiple details identify this as a Carnival party, including the ham and what appear to be eggs wielded by the standing monk at left and the roast chicken hoisted aloft by his neighbor. Likewise, the use of unorthodox objects to make music (or rather a raucous din) during Carnival festivities, such as the kitchen gridiron, bellows, and animal hoof in this print, relates to *charivari*, the Carnival-time censuring of individuals who have not been playing by the rules, such as having extra-marital affairs or marrying out of one’s age group.

Even by the strange standards of this composition, the presence of a barren tree growing up through the mussel shell is striking. Hung in its branches are the Lenten fish opposite the drinking vessel of Carnival, with an owl perched in between—this time literally an owl rather than *The Blue Boat*’s pilot-fool. The tree itself is reminiscent of the one in Bosch’s *Ship of Fools* (cat. 19b), but it relates more directly to another Bosch painting.

In *The Haywain*, an extended musing on human greed, an elegant couple is perched atop the hay wagon enjoying a song, she holding a musical score and he strumming a lute (cat. 20c). To the couple’s left, an angelic figure with pink wings gazes up towards the figure of the risen Christ in the clouds, pointing the way to eternal grace. The other action around them, however, depicts sin and conflict: a blue devil perched on an isolated branch at right joins the couple in their music-making. Behind them, a more modestly dressed pair engages in a less chaste embrace in the thick of the shrubbery, while yet another figure peers around from the back.² Jutting out from the greenery on the one side is a pole with a large ceramic vessel, and on the other, a barren branch provides a perch for an owl that is challenged by two birds: the aggressive night bird notoriously becomes disoriented and vulnerable when in broad daylight. This grouping of pitcher, owl, and birds is echoed in *Merrymakers in a Mussel Shell*, where a fish is added to reinforce the explicit Carnival references already in the scene. The absence of foliage coupled with the owl besieged by birds suggests a negative connotation, presumably commenting on the folly of the destructive behavior occurring in the shell.

This is in contrast to the scene's placid marine setting, which as in *The Blue Boat*, calls to mind images of couples courting in boats during the month of May in Netherlandish miniature paintings, just as the elegant pair atop the hay wagon in Bosch's painting recalls courtly couples shown at leisure in depictions of the same month.³ Such references are, however, ironic, apropos of the topsy-turvy world of Carnival. In fact, in an impression of *Merrymakers in a Mussel Shell* now in Boston, the titular watercraft has been painted blue, perhaps in homage of the blue boat, and surely adding to the understanding of the scene as a ship of lascivious fools.⁴

Much like their counterparts in *The Blue Boat*, these straying members of society are depicted in a caricatural style, a device that was in vogue in sixteenth-century Antwerp, borrowed in part from Leonardo da Vinci's fascination with the grotesque.⁵ They are not only caricatural, they also display the performative character of Netherlandish Carnival celebrations at the time.⁶ Their exaggerated features and unseemly activity are not befitting their religious garments. The five who are engaged in song all look intently toward the open songbook held by the central female figure whose shoulders are shockingly bare. It seems likely that this gargantuan woman wearing what looks like a feather headdress or wig is a cross-dresser.⁷ Like the dog that leans on the table to join in the chorus, she is central to the world-turned-upside-down atmosphere of Carnival celebrations. The faces of four tiny children at the edge of the mussel-boat appear to be clamoring for whatever the phlegmatic-looking monk is dishing out from the pot that hangs over the water from the barren tree, porridge perhaps (or a stronger drink?). In all, it is not difficult to imagine the entire crew here as a cast in costume, singing from a script and banging their pseudo-instruments on a decorated wagon during a boisterous Carnival parade. – E.W.



Cat. 20a. Circle of Hieronymus Bosch, *Concert in an Egg*, c. 1560–70. Oil on linen. Palais des Beaux Arts, Lille



Cat. 20b. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Lust (Luxuria)*, 1558, from the series *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Engraving. Private collection



Cat. 20c. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Haywain* (detail), n.d. Oil on panel. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

Notes

1 For the existence of a fool's guild in Lyons, France, called "la Coquille," or "the Shell," see *Jheronimus Bosch. Katalogus*, 2 vols., ed. Karel Boon, exh. cat. ('s-Hertogenbosch: Noordbrabants Museum, with the Stichting Jeroen Bosch Expositie, 1967), 217.

2 Bax 1979, 317, argues that the couple in the shrubbery are adulterers.

3 The suggestion that the Boschian imagery of lovemaking on the water may have a link to images of courting couples depicted in miniatures of the month of May in books of hours produced in Bruges and Ghent in the early sixteenth century was made by Charles D. Cuttler, "Bosch and the *Narrenschiff*: A Problem in Relationships," *Art Bulletin*, 39 (1969): 272–76. Such imagery was also prevalent in early-seventeenth-century print series of the month by Jan van de Velde and others.

4 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 64.713.

5 For discussion of the origins of the term "caricature" in 1590s Italy and the earlier example of Leonardo and the grotesque, see Constance C. McPhee and Nadine M. Orenstein, eds., *Infinite Jest: Caricature and Satire from Leonardo to Levine*, exh. cat.

(New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, with Yale University Press, 2011), 4–5, 8, 20–26. Hans Liefdrinck I published a group of grotesque heads after Leonardo, suggesting they were known in Antwerp in the mid-sixteenth century, Hollstein (Liefdrinck, nos. 21–24). For further discussion of the use of the grotesque in Antwerp paintings of the first half of the sixteenth century, see Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*, 74–86.

6 Herman Pleij, "24 feb 1527: Intree te Gent op vastenavond vande zottenkeizer. Het repertoire van de volksfeesten," in Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, ed., *Nederlandse Literatuur, een geschiedenis* (Groningen: Nijhoff, 1993), 137–41.

7 Similar textures are found in the leaves used in wildman costumes or in exotic New World feather adornments. See Paul Vandenbroeck, *Beeld van de andere, vertoog over het zelf: Over wilden en narren, boeren en bedelaars*, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1987), 34–37; Orenstein 2001, 241; and Anna Tummers, ed., *De Gouden eeuw viert feest* (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 2011), 108, cat. 26.



Compt al ter feesten, Bachus scholieren ient, Tot inden ent
Minst metten meesten, Singt me maect v rucht bekent, V vrolijk
Helpt dese geesten, Singhen haer note bleit, Zy zyn content

Sus Chantres de Bachus, Ie tiens ma partie
Ut, Re, Mi, he aidez moy Ie vous supplie
Toy Babeillarde, et Maroye Gelinotte
Robin Biberon, avecq Bigne Jeannotte
Gviot Pensard, et Laqvot de Renardox
Car la mesure nous trappe, Chanev Piercon

Singt Bachus sanghers, ick hou mijn partie
Fa, Sol, La, Ey helpt doch, ick bidts v sonder beraen
Ghy Tandeloofse beffe, en Maey hoenkens als de blye
Rubbeken schuerbier, met scheel Ianneken zyn amye
Gueken Dicfack, en Coppden de braker laet v lel, gaen
Caël Pierken ons sangmeester sal de mate wel slaen

CAT. 21

Unknown engraver in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Dinner Party (or Song of the Gluttons), n.d.

Engraving, ii/iii

Sheet: 8 3/4 × 9 11/16 in. (22.2 × 24.6 cm), trimmed to image

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 32); Kavalier 1999, 123; Lafond 2002, no. 42

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

Compt al ter feesten, Bachus scholieren ient, Tot inden ent
Minst metten meesten, Singt me maect vruecht beke[n]t, U vrolijck wet
Helpt dese geesten, singhen haer note[n] ble[n]t, Zy zyn content

in the lower margin:

SUS CHANTRES DE BACHUS, JE TIENS MA PARTIE
UT, RE, MI, HE AYDEZ MOY JE VOUS SUPPLIE
TOY BABEILLARDE, ET MAROYE GELINOTTE
ROBIN BIBERON, AVECQ BIGLE JEANNOTTE
GUIOT PENSARD, ET JAQUOT LE RENARDON
CAR LA MESURE NOUS FRAPPE, CHANEU PIERCON

Singct Bachus sanghers, ick hou mijn partie
Fa, Sol, La, Ey helpt doch, ick bidts U sonder beraen
Ghy Tandeloose besse, en Maey hoenkens als de blye
Rubbeken schuerbier, met scheel lanneken zijn amye
Gueken Dicsack, en Coppen de braker laet u lel, gaen
Cael Pierken ons sangmeester sal de mate wel slaen

Yet another merry musical company of Carnival revelers appears in this engraving, all gathered around a festive table in an inn—identified as such by the stained-glass window showing a beaker.¹ There are eight merrymakers in all, including a fool with his cap pulled back over his shoulders, a skinny, toothless old woman, a nun wearing her veil, and a vomiting peasant with a substantial set of feathers in his woolen cap. The group of three men next to the nun appear to all have tonsured heads, the sign of ordained clergymen, but the standing member of the trio attempts to disguise the shaved portions of his colleagues' heads with little toupees. This is a world turned upside down indeed.

Food is scattered on the table, including a platter that exhibits a suggestively arranged assortment of phallic sausages and other foods, reinforcing the emphasis on gluttony and sex that pervade these Carnival prints. The knife on the fat monk's plate is also suggestively placed and points across the table toward the young woman paired with the singing fool. Eggshells and chicken bones litter the floor. A painted version of the same composition attributed to Maarten van Cleve includes a cat, dog, and chicken lurking about among the bones and eggshells, as well a few more foodstuffs on the table.² The fat monk with his tankard contrasts with the thin, old hag, suggesting another Carnival-Lent opposition as seen in *The Blue Boat* (cat. 19).³



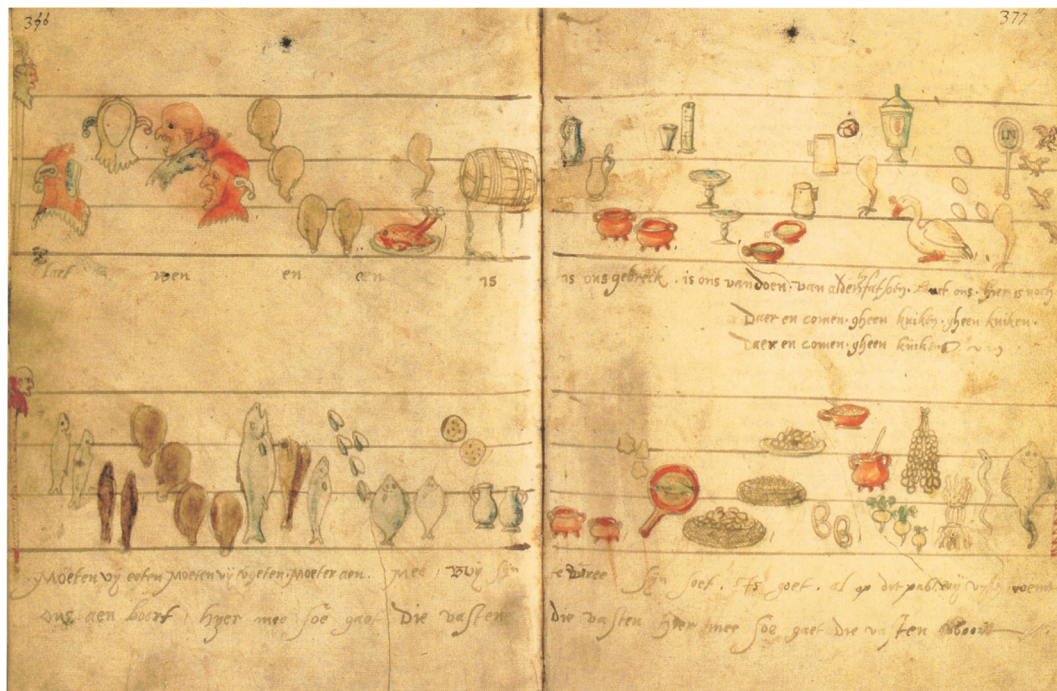
Cat. 21a. Peter Flötner, *Procession of Gluttony*, 1540. Hand-colored woodcut.
The British Museum, London

With the exception of the vomiter, who is otherwise engaged, the party clusters around an enormous songbook, propped on an equally imposing jug and held up by the man in fool's costume (and perhaps by the young woman, though the exact location of her left hand remains provocatively obscured). They follow a score in which the musical notes take the form of rich pre-Lenten foods: a pig's head, ham, trotter (leg), and roast chicken, along with sausages, various drinking vessels, and assorted other schematically rendered foods arranged across the staves.⁴ The mouths of most of the revelers are open in song, but the nun and the monk next to her play fantastical instruments. She plays an animal trotter as though it were a shawm, a double-reed wind instrument and precursor to the modern oboe, while he mocks playing a recorder using a long, thin knobby glass known as a *stangenglass*.⁵ The two appear so earnest in their endeavor it is hard to believe they cannot possibly be making any musical sounds with their "instruments," and we have to wonder further whether the singers just know the words to the song or whether this monstrous songbook displays some kind of Carnival rebus.⁶

A similar example of gluttonous symbolism appears in a German woodcut by Peter Flötner (cat. 21a), which shares several features with this print. A languid procession centers around an obese mercenary soldier who carries a banner covered with images of edible delicacies: pretzel, pig's head, roast chicken, sausages, a basket of fruit and cheese, pancakes, a fish and crustacean, as well as a barrel of beer and tankard. He is accompanied by four other marchers, much smaller than he: two musicians in front of him, each with an extravagantly tall feather on his hat, and behind, a soldier with a small bird skewered on his halberd followed by a hunched old woman with more roast poultry on a portable spit. Although the two prints were produced in different places and times, they share the pictographic

representation of fatty foods and the glutton who seeks them out, music-making, and foolish-looking characters with feather headdresses. Whereas Flötner calls out the greedy military men for ridicule, the Boschian print here takes a stab at the foolishness of the clergy instead.⁷ The absurdity of the three monks at this silly dinner party, in particular the “songmaster” covering the tonsured heads of his two peers, suggests arguably an even clearer line of religious satire than in the other prints in this exhibition that include monkish antics.

Food-themed musical notation much like that in *The Dinner Party* is depicted in a mid-sixteenth-century manuscript from Jutphaas, near Utrecht, which retrospectively records that town’s Carnival festivities of 1517.⁸ Among the documents the manuscript includes are the verses and “music” of a pair of songs dedicated to Carnival and Lent (cat. 21b). Each line of the musical notation has a fool’s bauble as its clef, and the top line (for Carnival, which has the fool’s number of eleven verses as recorded on the following page) begins with a set of fools’ heads and caps followed by hams, roast fowl, a barrel of wine, various drinking and other vessels, a goose, eggs, and a flock of smaller poultry. Below is the song of Lent (with the more rational number of twelve verses), which consists largely of fish, pretzels, turnips and onions, and notably fewer drinking vessels.⁹ A similar set of edibles appears in *The Dinner Party*’s songbook, though the score is dominated by Carnival fare. The drinking vessel on an escutcheon in the center of the songbook’s right-hand page also recalls a whole series of fool-themed coats of arms in the Jutphaas manuscript, further adding to the theme of folly so closely linked to Carnival time.¹⁰



Cat. 21b. Anonymous artist, *Shrove Tuesday songs*, from *Vastenavondgeschrift (Shrove Tuesday manuscript)*, mid-16th century. Meermanno-Westreenianum/Museum van het Boek, The Hague inv.nr.10 C 26

Unlike the musical pictographs in the songbook (and also unlike the more schematic songbooks in *The Blue Boat*), the musical notation above these singers is a realistic piece of music, the verses of which call the “sweet students of Bacchus” to come out to the party and sing.¹¹ The prominence of the ancient Roman god of wine is hardly surprising given the classical focus of learning in the early modern era, and Bacchus was frequently evoked in contemporary Carnival dramas. Erasmus’s *Praise of Folly* is packed with classical references, and the book’s protagonist, Folly herself, nursed at the breasts of “two dainty nymphs,” the daughters of Bacchus and Pan, respectively.¹² Abundant literature addresses the prominence of the *rederijkers kamers*, or chambers of rhetoricians, in sixteenth-century Netherlandish culture.¹³ These literary societies were called upon to produce public performances at regular holidays and for special events, and their members included many artists, among them Hieronymus Cock.¹⁴

The most commonly used language of the prints in this exhibition, which were probably nearly all published in Antwerp, is Dutch (along with Latin, in particular for the religious prints), but the existence of French versions of many of the texts, including this one, is evidence of the bilingual nature of the Netherlands, sandwiched between the Dutch-speaking provinces to the north and France to the south. The Dutch and French verses identify each of the “Bacchus singers” with a humorously descriptive nickname, customized for each language: “Babeillarde” (Chatterbox) becomes “Tandeloose besse” (Toothless Bess); “Maroye Gelinotte” (Mary Grouse) translates as “Maey hoenkens” (Mary Little Hen); and “Robin Biberon” (Robin the Drinker) becomes “Rubbeken schuerbier” (Robbie, or Little Rabbit, who drinks cheap beer, perhaps), with his friend “scheel Ianneken” (Cross-Eyed Janet). Fatso (“Gueken Dicsack”) and “the vomiter” (“Coppen de braker”) speak for themselves, while the songmaster “Chaneu Piercon” (also, possibly, Drinker), or “Cael Pierken” (Bald Peter), is said to keep time for the group.

What has this print to do with Hieronymus Bosch? It does not carry an inscription crediting Bosch as inventor, nor can it plausibly be connected to Hieronymus Cock, as was done consistently in the literature before Timothy Riggs effectively refuted such a connection in his 1972 dissertation on Cock’s publishing business.¹⁶ The painting attributed to van Cleve may be the source for the engraving—but it seems just as likely that the engraving was the source for the painting. Regardless, as with many of the other prints in this exhibition, we see evidence of the same Boschian phenomenon: a widespread interest in moralizing, locally focused imagery that included the work of Bosch as an important inspiration. – E.W.

Notes

- 1 There are three states to this print: (i) unfinished composition before any letters (unpublished; British Museum, 1983 U.307); (ii) with inscriptions, prior to the date; and (iii) with the date 1580.
- 2 Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 870. Attributed to Maarten van Cleve in Ludwig von Baldass, "Die Chronologie der Gemälde des Hieronymus Bosch," *Jahrbuch der königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlung* 38 (1917): 177–95, nos. 11–13.
- 3 The lack of any reference on the print to artist or publisher may also suggest publication at a politically sensitive time. See discussion of the contemporary political situation in the Netherlands in my "Hieronymus Cock and the Invention of the Print Market in Antwerp," with further references, in this volume.
- 4 See also the large songbook in the Boschian painting *Concert in an Egg* (cat. 20a).
- 5 With thanks to Louis Grijp, Charles Turner, Imanuel Willheim, and Nancy Wu for their help in confirming the identification of the "musical" instruments. For identification of the trotter as that of a goat rather than a pig (less meat but stronger sexual connotation), see Bax 1979, 232.
- 6 Although this may be too schematically rendered to read fully, see my "Hieronymus Cock" in this volume regarding the popularity of rebuses. With thanks to Louis Grijp, who agreed that there is a possibility this could be a rebus. Grijp, email correspondence with the author, Jan. 1 and 3, 2015.
- 7 Keith Moxey, "Mercenary Warriors and the 'Rod of God,'" in *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 67–100.
- 8 Herman Pleij, "Van Vastelavond tot Carnaval," in Charles de Mooij, ed., *Vastenavond-Carnaval. Feesten van de omgekeerde wereld* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Noordbrabants Museum, with Waanders Uitgevers, 1992), 15–18 and cat. 33; and Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life*, trans. Diane Webb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 155, illus. 79. For further discussion of Jutphaas as center for fools, see cat. 32, in this volume.
- 9 Pleij, "Van Vastelavond tot Carnaval," 15; and Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne*, 79.
- 10 Koldeweij 2001, 123.
- 11 Charles Turner notes that this is a "three-voice canon; above the fifth and eleven notes, one can faintly detect a *signum congruentiae* [in the form of two small dots] indicating where the voices enter." Turner, email correspondence with the author, December 8, 2014. That the particular song is not recorded was confirmed by Louis Grijp, who also confirmed that it is an authentic song, similar to another in the Nederlandse Liederbank of the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam, "Wilt al ter Feeste comen / Ghy Sotten en Sottinnen" ("Come to This Party, All of You, Male and Female Fools"). See <http://www.liederenbank.nl/liedpresentatie.php?zoek=24484&lan=nl>. Grijp further suggests that this might be viewed as a precursor to so-called "Bildmotette," or pictorial motets, a small genre of engravings produced in Antwerp with short vocal religious motets composed especially to be produced as prints. Grijp, email correspondence with the author, January 1, 2015. See also Thea Vignau-Wilberg, *O Musica Du Edle Kunst / Music for a While. Music and Dance in Sixteenth-Century Prints* (Munich: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1999), 166ff.
- 12 Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly and Other Writings*, ed. Robert M. Adams (New York: Norton, 1989).
11. P. de Keyser, "Het Kluchtig sermoen van Bacchus," *Nederlandse Tijdschrift voor Volkskunde* 30 (1925): 109–19.
- 13 Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 426–46; Mark Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002); and B. A. M. Ramakers, "Bruegel en de rederijkers: Schilderkunst en literatuur in de zestiende eeuw," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996): 81–105. For discussion linking processional print series to annual religious processions organized by chambers of rhetoric, as well as the impact of politics in 1560s and 1570s Antwerp, see Emily Jo Peters, "Den gheheelen loop des weerelts: Printed Processions and the Theater of Identity in Antwerp during the Dutch Revolt" (PhD diss., University of California–Santa Barbara, 2005).
- 14 The Antwerp chamber, the Violieren, was largely made up of artists.



CAT. 22

Attributed to Joannes van Doetecum the Elder (b. Deventer, act. 1554–d. 1605, Antwerp) and Lucas van Doetecum (b. Deventer, act. 1554–d. before 1589) in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

Foul Sauce (or Eaters of Sausage and Fat), n.d.

Engraving, i/ii

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image: 7 11/16 × 11 5/16 in. (19.5 × 28.7 cm)

Sheet: 7 3/4 × 11 7/16 in. (19.7 × 29.1 cm), trimmed to and within platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 45); Hollstein (Cock, no. 149); De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 121; Riggs 1977, no. 230; Gibson 1978, 675–77; Lafond 2002, no. 34

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

vuijl sause

H COCK EXCUD[BAT]

Lippe Loer

in the lower margin:

Soo vuijsause soo. Wilt die aejeren plansen. In ouwen pels. Mackt vuijl mackt vet. Lippen loer, sal va[n] blijscap over het aeij eens dansen, o[m] ee[n] liedek[e] te pijsen hebbick mij hier geset, daerse al vuijl sij[n] en is nijmant net

This raucous and rhythmic fat kitchen features dancing, music-making, rich foodstuffs, a two-headed fool, and broken eggshells, all suggestive of the scene's licentious behavior. Two of the characters are named: Lippe[n] Loer (Philip the Loser) dances at right while Vuijl Sause (Foul Sauce) crouches over her lapful of liquid at left; the verses below provide a further gloss on the activity. The composition includes familiar carnivalesque features, but it also belongs to the world of comic theater that was an important part of the cultural life of sixteenth-century Netherlands.

Theater was the domain of the *rederijkers kamers*, or chambers of rhetoricians, literary societies comprised of an educated urban middle class of artisans and tradesmen. The role of such chambers was to produce plays that ranged from serious to farcical for both private and public events.¹ Because these were temporal productions, only fragmented archival documentation survives, such as the poem on the "guild of the blue boat" or the Jutphaas Carnival manuscript, and occasional plays.²

As it turns out, Lippen Loer is a main character in *Hanneken Lekkertant* (*Jack Sweet-Tooth*), a farce first performed in 1541 by the Antwerp rhetoricians' chamber Violieren, of which this print's publisher, Hieronymus Cock, was a member.³ The farce tells a story of two neighbor boys whose mothers have very different notions of child rearing. Jack Sweet-Tooth's mother, Coddle, thinks inordinately highly of him and spoils him with delectable sweet-milk porridge and whatever else he likes. The mother of Philip the Loser, on the other hand, is a miserly weaver who feeds her son only beans and makes him work for his supper. Longing for some sweets of his own, Philip takes Jack's advice, feigning sickness until his mother gives him all the sweetmeats he asks for. In the end, however, both Philip and Jack get a serving of "birch cakes" for their trouble, shorthand for a whipping with birch switches. According to the print's inscription, the foolish Philip here is absorbed in an egg dance, an episode not included in the play.⁴ Indeed, although the over-dressed boy at the left might be a surrogate for the spoiled Jack, no other characters from the play are identifiable. Philip, it seems, was a stock character, with exploits outside of *Jack Sweet-Tooth*.

It is no surprise that eggs feature prominently here, both in the image and its verses. A staple of Carnival celebrations, eggs were often part of the decadent menu of pre-Lenten gorging, but they also carry other symbolic associations as well, from fertility to folly. Broken eggshells on the floor suggest virginity lost as much as slovenly behavior, and they frequently appear in situations where sexual favors are being courted. The central panel of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* includes two erotically charged eggs, and the egg's association with folly can be seen, for example, in the Boschian musical company in an eggshell (cat. 20a), in fools seemingly hatched from eggs (cat. 32), or in the graphic "portrait" of a fool messily eating a soft-boiled egg (cat. 22a).⁵ The egg dance in its mid-sixteenth-century Netherlandish variety consisted in moving an egg with one's feet from the top of an overturned bowl into a circle drawn on the floor and from there into the bowl turned right side up (no small feat for a dullard!). It is generally understood as a reference to the dancer's vanity, and in a case such as Philip's, also greed and gluttony.



Cat. 22a. Marx Reichlich (formerly Angerer Master), *The Jester*, c. 1519–20. Oil on panel. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Herbert Schaefer on long-term loan to Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

The most well-known representation of the egg dance is Pieter Aertsen's 1552 painting (cat. 22b), which shows a similar scene in a tavern with a young man prancing delicately around a bowl and an egg amid a profusion of onion flowers, ramps or leeks, and mussel shells.⁶ Aertsen's painting and *Foul Sauce* share several details, including bagpipers and characters of all ages; it's worth particular note that the immoral behavior in both works is being carefully observed by children.⁷

This theme is no doubt underscored in the print by the nursing mother crouched down in the foreground, identified as Foul Sauce herself, an epithet that references her sloppy dress and cooking habits even as it encompasses the whole crowd's questionable hygiene and moral status. In the verse below the image, the bagpiper enjoins her to make a mess of the "eggs" and to "make dirty, make fat, or greasy in her old petticoat."⁸ Philip is said to be dancing around the egg "in joy," and the bagpiper tells us he has come to pipe a song since "everyone is filthy and nobody is clean [i.e., respectable]."

An encyclopedia of filth could be written from the scene: the peeling plaster; the half-shod figures; the boy in fancy dress at left sticks his hand in his porridge and, worse, shares his bowl with a pig; eggshells litter the floor; and true to character, Foul Sauce herself uses the grimy petticoat she wears for a mixing bowl. The toddler nursing from her exposed breast recalls the nursing woman in the foreground of Bruegel's *Fat Kitchen* (fig. 22c) but with

far less modesty. Her neighbor to the right, identified elsewhere as Vuylfatsoen (Filthy Sort/ Dirty Face), hovers over a pan of delicacies, a dollop of snot poised to drip from his long nose into the pan.⁹ This disgusting figure finds an echo in an anonymous German woodcut, and there is also a particular type of rhetoricians' farce known as a mock sermon, in which an absurd canon of foolish saints—including Snot-Nose as well as Reynuyt (All-Cleaned-Out) and Nobody—become figures of worship.¹⁰ Scatological references and sexual innuendo are rampant in these farces, and a Saint Snot-Nose is an apt model for *Foul Sauce's* filth and depravity. Yet another reference to a runny-nosed character appears in a farce about the "Order of Saint Skinny."¹¹ Druyp-Neuse, or Drippy Nose, and his fellow brothers are said to be poor, thinly clad, and wearing no shoes or socks; they never argue and are always happy, all according to the doctrine of Saint Skinny. Other members of this sect include Unwashed, Mrs. Filthy, Broken Pot, and Repaired Saucer, who cooks in a muddy hole. It is easy to imagine *Foul Sauce* arising out of this milieu of ribald, earthy humor.

Behind the figure of Foul Sauce, a haggard woman with her knobby beaker sits listless, a bit like Madame Lent in Bruegel's *Battle Between Carnival and Lent* (cat. 19a); the rotund bagpiper has distended his bag so that it looks like nothing so much as a pair of taut buttocks; and one gentleman at the table scowls and holds up his arm in a gesture mirroring Philip's while the other, wearing an exotic feather headdress, assertively dissects a bird with his bare hands, a crude reference to the sex act. A shadowy couple at the door is poised on the threshold, perhaps indecisive about whether to join this bacchanal, and they are echoed by the image on the wall at right, which acts out the proverbial expression "two heads/fools under one hood," suggesting everyone's complicity in the rampant bad behavior. The same proverbial expression can be found pictured in two near-contemporary visual compendia of proverbs: Frans Hogenberg's *Die Blau Huicke* (*The Blue Cloak*) (cat. 30a) and Bruegel's *Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559).¹²



Cat. 22b. Pieter Aertsen, *The Egg Dance*, 1552. Oil on panel. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Cat. 22c. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Fat Kitchen*, 1563. Engraving.
Private collection

As Walter Gibson notes, the execution of this print is distinctive in itself.¹³ The print bears no inscriptions relating it to Bosch, and the design has most convincingly been attributed to either Pieter Baltens, a contemporary of, and rival to, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, who shares none of his spotlight, or to Jan Verbeeck, known for his burlesque paintings of peasant weddings and one of the many mid-sixteenth-century painters inspired by Bosch's mid-century reputation.¹⁴ A comparison of the distinctive quality of line in the print, which was executed in a combination of etching and engraving, compares favorably with Verbeeck's frenetic, scribbly drawing style, whereas Gibson suggests that the features of the bagpipe player are not unlike those of his counterpart in *The Dissolute Household* (cat. 28), which has also been attributed to Baltens.¹⁵ Timothy Riggs has suggested that this print, with its characteristic mélange of etching and engraving, was executed by Jan and Lucas van Doetecum, who worked for Cock and are known precisely for their combining of the two intaglio techniques.¹⁶ – E.W.

Notes

- 1 The literature on the *rederijkers kamers* is vast. See Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 426–46; Herman Pleij, *Het gilde van de Blauwe Schuit: literatuur, volksfeest en burgermoraal in de late middeleeuwen* [1983] (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009); Mark Meadow, "On the Structure of Knowledge in Bruegel's *Netherlandish Proverbs*," *Volkskundig Bulletin* 19.2 (1992): 141–69; Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002); and B. A. M. Ramakers, "Bruegel en de rederijkers: Schilderkunst en literatuur in de zestiende eeuw," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996): 81–105.
- 2 For discussion of the poem and the Jutphaas manuscript, see cat. 19 and 21, respectively.
- 3 For discussion of the play as well as a translation, see Ben Parsons and Bas Jongenelen, eds., *Comic Drama in the Low Countries, c. 1450–1560: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge and New York: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 206–45. They suggest that Lippen Loer was "part of a common stock of types and forms" (p. 208), acknowledging that this print is not an illustration of the play. They also note that the play is said to have won first prize at a *rederijkers* competition in Diest in 1541 (p. 206).
- 4 Parsons and Jongenelen, *Comic Drama*, 208. Philip is identified as wearing "stripes and sleeves" (p. 229), suggesting he is dressed as a fool, and Parsons and Jongenelen suggest that he is so dressed in the engraving.
- 5 In *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, an egg balances on the heads of one of the groups of bacchic riders in the middle ground, and a group of nudes emerge from the water into an apparently empty eggshell in the background. On the symbolism and uses of the egg in early modern Europe, see Lilian M. C. Randall, "A Medieval Slander," *The Art Bulletin* 42.1 (1960): 25–38; Venetia Newall, "The Egg Dance," *Folk Music Journal* 2.1 (1970): 35–44; Jan Papy, "In Praise of the Omnipresent Egg: 'Erycius Puteanus' 'Ovi Encomium' (1615)," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 49 (2000): 332; Bax 1979, 191–94; Elizabeth A. Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 31–32, 42–44, 46, 50–52, 108; and W. N. M. Hüsken, "The Fool as Social Critic: The Case of Dutch Rhetoricians' Drama," in Clifford Davidson, ed., *Fools and Folly*, Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series 22 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1996), 140.
- 6 Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*, 106.
- 7 See Walter S. Gibson, "Some Flemish Popular Prints from Hieronymus Cock and His Contemporaries," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 676–77; and Ilja M. Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints: The Work Ethic Rooted in Civic Morality or Protestantism?" *Simiolus* 21.4 (1992): 242.
- 8 "Vuijl Sause" has been translated as "dirty sauce," but I would argue that "foul" more accurately encompasses the range of meaning that must be intended here, as *vuil* can mean dirty but also common, mean, and shameful (i.e., sinful in the sense of spiritual filth). Likewise with the other terms in the inscription: *plansen* can mean to water down but also to make a mess of, which seems more likely here; *pels* is literally "fur," as in animal fur or the garment made from it, but it also has the sense of a woman's undergarment, thus "petticoat" as Gibson appropriately translates it; *vuilmaken* and *vetmaken* should be understood in their compound-verb senses, so literally "to make dirty" but also to besmirch (*vuilmaken*) and to fatten up as well as to make greasy (*vetmaken*). See Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie, *Schatkamer van de nederlandse taal*, <http://www.inl.nl/>; as well as P. G. J. van Sterckenburg, *Een Glossarium van Zeventiende-Eeuws Nederlands*, 3rd ed. (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1981).
- 9 Lafond 2002, no. 34, records an impression with supplemental text that references the butter-licking cat, porridge-eating pig, and the two fools' heads in one cap.
- 10 Anonymous sixteenth-century woodcut from the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, illustrated in Vandenbroeck 1987, 49. A "Meester Snottolf" (Master Snot-Nose) is also mentioned in the letterpress text attached to an impression of Bruegel's *The Stone Operation* in Rome (see cat. 30, 31).
- 11 Pleij, *Het gilde van de Blauwe Schuit*, 20, 103. "What Aernout's Brother Does When the Village Woman Complains that Her Butter Has Been [Bewitched]."
- 12 Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*, 106, discusses the element of moral choice suggested by groups on the threshold in Aertsen's *The Egg Dance*; see as well, Gibson, "Some Flemish Popular Prints," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 675; and Robert Nares, et al. *A Glossary, Or Collection of Words, Phrases ...*, 912.
- 13 Walter S. Gibson, "Some Flemish Popular Prints, 676.
- 14 Paul Vandenbroeck, "Verbeeck's Peasant Weddings: A Study of Iconography and Social Function," *Simiolus* 14 (1984): 79–124; and Walter S. Gibson, "Verbeeck's Grotesque Wedding Feasts: Some Reconsiderations," *Simiolus* 21.1/2 (1992): 29–39.
- 15 Gibson, "Some Flemish Popular Prints," 676; on Baltens, see Stephen J. Kostyshyn, "*Door tsoecken men vindt: A Reintroduction to the Life and Work of Peeter Baltens alias Custodius of Antwerp (1527–1584)*" (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1994).
- 16 Riggs 1977, 369. For further discussion of the engravers who worked with Cock, see my "Hieronymus Cock and the Invention of the Print Market in Antwerp," in this volume.



CAT. 23

Pieter van der Heyden (b. Antwerp, c. 1530–d. after March 1572, Berchem)
in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

Shrove Tuesday, 1567

Engraving, i/v

Published by Hieronymus Cock, Antwerp

Image: 8 3/4 × 11 5/16 in. (22.2 × 28.7 cm)

Sheet: 9 × 11 3/8 in. (22.9 × 28.9 cm), trimmed to and within platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 25); Hollstein (Cock, no. 138); Hollstein (Heyden, no. 48); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 100; De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 127; Riggs 1977, no. 15; Unverfehrt 1980, no. 227; Vandenbroeck 1987, 314–18; Lafond 2002, no. 18; Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*, 111–12; Ilsink 2009, 30–34; Luttikhuizen 2010, no. 33; Koreny 2012, no. 41

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

Hiero. Bos. Inventor

PAME [monogram: Pieter van der Heyden]

H. Cock excudebat 1567.

in the lower margin:

Masquers entrez, laissez ce gras grouleur
Bien soies venu a nostre ducasse
Chantes, jouez, la vielle de bon coeur
nous fait les gauffres assez bien grasse
buvons de ceste malvoisi garbe
ce pendant quau sot on fait la barbe

Pijpt nou vrij oppe en speelt van hertten fier
bakt wafelen en struijven om wel te smeeren
tis non al keremisse sijt nou vrolijk hier
dus brengt malcanderen eens van den Rijschen Cleeren
en wijst nou uit ghenuchten de sot wel scheeren



CAT. 24

Unknown French engraver

after the print of 1567 by Pieter van der Heyden (b. Antwerp, c. 1530–d. after March 1572, Berchem)

Shrove Tuesday, n.d.

Engraving, only state

Published by Jaspar Isaac, Paris

Image: 9 7/8 × 15 3/8 in. (25.1 × 39.1 cm)

Sheet: 10 × 15 1/2 in. (25.4 × 39.4 cm), trimmed within platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Roger-Armand Weigert, ed. *Inventaire du fonds Français, graveurs du XVIIe siècle. Tome V, Gilibert-Jousse*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968, no. 218

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

Le Volleur de nuit

Jaspar Isac ex[cudit]

Avec Privilege

in the lower margin:

Jamais ny l'Art, ny la Nature,
N'ont rien fait de plus gracieux;
Ny rien de plus facetieux,
Que cette grotesque figure.

Cette Vieille, de qui les bras
Se peuvent soustenier à peine;
Fait les gaufres du Mardy-gras,
Et le feu la met hors d'haleine.

Tandis qu'elle plaist à merveilles
A son boursoufflé de Mary;
Les grils, les pots, et les bouteilles
Font un plaisant charivary.

Parmi cette resjouissance,
La guiterre de Pantalon,
S'accorde avecque la cadance;
Du Chat jouant du Violon.

Dans ce ridicule mesnage,
Q'un Sot regarde par un trou
Jugez si cette femme est sage,
De Laver La teste d'un Fou.



Cat. 23a. Balthasar van den Bos, *Shrove Tuesday*, n.d. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Pieter van der Heyden's *Shrove Tuesday* (cat. 23) displays a motley crew of partiers reveling in a tavern-like interior: musicians playing actual instruments as well as kitchen implements, a fat man enjoying the glow of the fire, along with monks, nuns, and a fool and his dog. An old woman bakes waffles at the center of the composition, indicating that this is likely the plate identified as the “wafelbacker” in the 1601 inventory of Volcxken Diericx's estate.¹ According to the modern title given the print, these figures are in the midst of celebrating Fat Tuesday, the climax of Carnival, when waffle-baking and eating fat foods played a central role in the celebrations that anticipated the lean days of Lent.

The accompanying carnivalesque inversion of everyday morality is evident in the spectacle of those who don religious garb flirting with one another and playing loudly on bellows, gridiron, and tongs, while the minstrel strumming a lute on the left-hand side wears an awkward head cloth and is accompanied by his masculine-looking twin wearing a dress (generally referred to as his wife). The man leaning through the window with the *platerspiel*, or bladder pipe, seems also to be wearing a monk's habit, linking him to the other monks and nuns on that side of the composition.

The identification of this as a representation of Shrove Tuesday is confirmed by a roughly contemporary engraving by Balthasar van den Bos after Marten van Cleve (cat. 23a), whose similarly festive scene is clearly identified as Shrove Tuesday—*vastelavont*—in the

verse engraved in the plate. While van den Bos's version includes but a single bagpipe player and many more dancers, who wear naturalistic peasant dress rather than clerical attire, the two prints share a number of characteristics, such as the love-makers in the upper left, the character leaning in the window, and the importance of the hearth, waffle-baking, and the display of rich foods.

Of the prints in this exhibition that explore Netherlandish Carnival traditions, it is worth noting that *Shrove Tuesday* was produced in 1567, the year following the anti-Catholic iconoclastic fury of the summer and fall of 1566, in which sacred images in churches were destroyed across the Netherlands.² This was a defining moment, and by 1568, rising religious as well as political and economic tensions would lead to the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt. It is therefore useful to consider the climate in which *Shrove Tuesday* went on sale at Aux Quatre Vents in order to understand something of the attraction for a humorous image sporting a cross-section of Netherlandish Carnival society.

At a time when a printer could face the death penalty for publishing heretical or seditious materials, the merriment of Carnival and its topsy-turvy world presented a perfect site in which to embed anti-Spanish—indeed, anti-Catholic—sentiment, as evidenced by the derogatory view of monks and nuns. Referencing Bosch, one of the Netherlands's most revered painters—whose work was also coveted and collected by the Spanish king as well as the Duke of Alba, the authoritarian governor-general of the Netherlands from 1567 to 1573—created a product that could pass the censors and be equally marketable to both sides.³

As with many of the Boschian engravings published by Cock in the 1550s and 1560s, this print would seem to have little to do with Bosch other than the inscription carrying his name on the image of the owl above the fireplace, and the basic fact that it addresses human folly.⁴ The depiction of the fool on the right, however, provides some tangible connection to Bosch's work. His little dog, also in a fool's costume, is an isolated motif that appears in other Boschian contexts, including in the central scene of the triptych *The Temptation of St. Anthony* and in the "Conjuror" versions attributed to Bosch followers (see cat. 27). The fool, freshly shaved by a woman wearing a luxuriant fur cap atop her nun-like habit, holds the bowl of water under his chin with one hand, while with the other he attempts to reach beneath the woman's voluminous gown, adding a flirtatious, if not exactly lascivious, note to the proceedings.⁵

These habit-wearing characters may be identified as lay-clergy known as beguines and beghards, who devoted their lives to Christ but outside the cloister or monastery and who, by the sixteenth century, were criticized for laziness and lumped in with vagabonds and beggars who dishonestly lived off charity.⁶ The beguine barber here enacts, quite literally, the Netherlandish proverb "to shave the fool," which translates something like "to act the fool" or to "make fun" of one.⁷ Pieter Bruegel the Elder included a fool being shaved in the upper-story window of the inn on the left side of his 1559 painting *Netherlandish Proverbs*. The scene can also be found in *The Loving Couple* (cat. 25), and there are numerous literary and theatrical references as well, including in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century French and



Cat. 23b. In the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *Shaving the Fool*, n.d. Pen and ink over chalk with wash. The British Museum, London

Netherlandish plays.⁸ Paul Vandenbroeck has sourced the roots of the expression to the medieval practice of publicly shaving criminal elements in society — “ne’er-do-wells and vagabonds, witches, and the possessed” — as a means of punishment and stigmatization.⁹ In the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such public acts of shaving the fool were forbidden in many cities, although it was tolerated as part of the performances by local chambers of rhetoricians, or dramatic societies.¹⁰

This motif is often cited as the most significant part of this engraving’s composition that has a specific source in Bosch’s work: a drawing now considered to be by an anonymous follower of Bosch but formerly attributed to the master (cat. 23b).¹¹ The drawing depicts four of the figures who appear at the right-hand side of the van der Heyden engraving: the fool, his barber, the nun to her right playing the gridiron and tongs, and the bladder-pipe player leaning in the window. Another drawing in Vienna with an inscription attributing it to Bruegel replicates the full composition of the van der Heyden engraving and dates to the mid-sixteenth century as well. It was formerly considered to be the preparatory drawing for the print but is now deemed a faithful copy instead; its attribution to Bruegel has also been abandoned.¹²

In addition, the large image tacked to the wall above the fireplace of an owl dressed as a pilgrim, presumably a print, is inscribed “Hiero. Bos. Inventor.” Does this inscription refer solely to the owl image or to the entire composition? The names of a print’s producers would typically appear along the lower edge of an image, so at first it would seem more likely to refer to the owl alone.¹³ In the end, Bosch’s name within the composition would appear to function on multiple levels. It presents a motif closely associated with the painter as a central element in the interior (the print within the print), while also setting the Carnival party within a retrospective atmosphere that recalls the time of Bosch, thereby solidifying the celebratory activity within a venerable Netherlandish tradition.¹⁴ The owl image, however, is also not a direct quote from any known Bosch composition, even though owls appear repeatedly throughout his work. Rather, this particular owl seems to reproduce one of a pair of woodcuts from the 1520s, one depicting an owl in the guise of a pilgrim (cat. 23c) and the other as a soldier (cat. 23d), as Vandenbroeck and Matthijs IJssink have noted.¹⁵

This composition, with its humble hearthside setting and its depiction of common merriment, seems to anticipate most clearly seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish genre painting, aligning it more closely with developments in the work of Bruegel rather than Bosch.¹⁶ The seventeenth-century painters Jacob Jordaens and Jan Steen provide the most direct comparison, with their repeated depictions of revelers at Shrovetide and Epiphany and their visualizations of proverbial sayings such as “as the old sing, so pipe the young.”¹⁷

Van der Heyden and Cock’s *Shrove Tuesday* would itself be reborn in the first half of the seventeenth century, in France. The composition was copied in an adapted version published by Jaspar Isaac (cat. 24), an Antwerp-born print publisher who was active in Paris from about 1608 until his death in 1654.¹⁸ Much of the new print echoes its predecessor, but while the fool and bellows-player have not changed, their fellow revelers to the right of the hearth are strikingly different in their fashionable, provocative dress, particularly the low-cut bodice of the gridiron player. The little dog in fool’s costume now has a counterpart: a cat playing a tiny violin. The bladder-pipe player has disappeared from the back window where, instead, a well-dressed gentleman with a feather in his cap suggestively gestures toward the party. The first two columns of verse below the image attend to the monumental waffle-baker in the center of the image, noting that nature has never made anything so “gracious, farcical, or grotesque,” while the final column turns the attention to the gentleman at the window, also identified as a fool (*sot*). At the end, the viewer is exhorted to decide whether the woman is “wise to shave the head of a fool,” referring back to the original fool (*fou*) being shaved.

For the print’s Parisian public, Bosch’s name has completely disappeared, and although an owl print remains above the fireplace, it is no longer the false pilgrim but the soldier, identified as a “thief of the night.”¹⁹ In this context, the owl is surely a mercenary soldier, recalling the near-contemporary series of etchings *Miseries of War* from 1633 by Jacques Callot, which bear witness to the ravages of the Thirty Years War.²⁰ Other clues to the subject’s reception in France can be found in the still-intact volumes of prints from the seventeenth-century collection of Michel de Marolles.²¹ Indeed, numerous Boschian prints



Cat. 23c. Monogrammist MH, *Owl as Pilgrim*,
c. 1525. Hand-colored woodcut.
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Cat. 23d. Monogrammist MH, *Owl as Soldier*,
c. 1525. Hand-colored woodcut.
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

are included in these volumes of humorous and satirical subjects, including two impressions of Isaac's *Shrove Tuesday* and one of Pieter van der Heyden's.²² The fashion-conscious character of the French *Shrove Tuesday* is echoed in the prints that are pasted onto the album pages nearby, including various episodes in the life of "Jeanne," including her wedding and the night before, in addition to a "Funeral of Fashion."

While the verses on the 1567 Flemish print good-naturedly invite the viewer to join with the "maskers" and celebrate Carnival, the French verses a half-century later (and about a century after the death of Bosch) take a more sharply critical tone toward the composition's individual characters. A comparison of Cock's and Isaac's versions of the subject hints not only at the variety of ways in which loosely Boschian motifs could be translated and updated into the mode we now call "genre," but also how they could be adapted to new times and places. – E.W.

Notes

- 1 Erik Duverger, ed., *Antwerpe kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols. (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Kunstwetenschappen, 1984–2009), 1:23, 33.
- 2 David Freedberg, "Iconoclasm and Painting in the Netherlands, 1566–1609" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1972); Jan Piet Filedt-Kok, ed., *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst 1525–1580* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; 's-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986); Peter Parshall, "Kunst en reformatie in de Noordelijke Nederlanden—enkele gezichtspunten," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 35.3 (1987): 164–75; Margaret Carroll, "Peasant Festivity and Political Identity in the Sixteenth Century," *Art History* 10 (1987): 295. For the historical context, see Alastair Duke with Judith Pollman and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (London: Penguin Books, 1977); Pieter Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands 1555–1609* (London: Cassell Publishers, 1932); and Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 148–54.
- 3 Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp. The Introduction of Printmaking in a City: Fifteenth Century to 1585*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1997), 181–84; and Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 212–17. Regarding Alva's interest in Bosch, see Paul Vandenbroeck, "High Stakes in Brussels, 1567. *The Garden of Earthly Delights* as the Crux of the Conflict Between William the Silent and the Duke of Alva," in Jos Koldeweij and Bernard Vermet, eds., *Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 87–90.
- 4 See Ilsink 2009, 30–34, for a nuanced discussion of *Shrove Tuesday*, the image of Bosch in Bruegel's generation, and the picture-within-a-picture in this composition.
- 5 Koreny 2012, 343, identifies her cap as fox fur.
- 6 Vandenbroeck 1987, 142; Vandenbroeck 2002, 52; Koreny 2012, 343, 344n3; and Hermann Haupt, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sekt vom Freien Geist und des Beghardenthums," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 7 (1885): 538–45.
- 7 "Shaving the fool" is given multiple interpretations. For its meaning as referenced here, see Henry Luttikhuisen, ed., *The Humor and Wit of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, exh. cat. (Grand Rapids: Calvin College, 2010), 210–11; for to shave someone "over the spoon" or "to shave the fool without soap," see Koreny 2012, 343, 345n4. Bax 1979, 184, notes that the expression "to shave the fool" plays on "the double meaning of *scheren* ['shear' and 'play']"; *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, 218: "to make fun of someone, to act the goat."
- 8 See Vandenbroeck 2002, 293.
- 9 Vandenbroeck 2002, 291: "nietsnutten en vagebonden, heksen en bezetenen." Vandenbroeck gives by far the most thorough discussion of the motif (pp. 291–94), although he does not question the validity of the Bosch attribution, assuming this to be a Bosch invention, albeit updated somewhat by Cock.
- 10 Vandenbroeck 2002, 293.
- 11 British Museum, London, acc. no. 1854.0628.46; see Koreny 2012, 343–45, cat. 41. The bladder pipe is similar to a bagpipe in that there is a wind bag; there is a reed inside the bladder, and finger holes on the pipe below the bladder. It was prevalent in courtly circles early on but by the late fifteenth century had become a folk instrument. Howard Mayer Brown and Barra R. Boydell, "Bladder pipe," Grove Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/public/book/omo_gmo, accessed October 3, 2014.
- 12 Albertina, Vienna, acc. no. 7799. Koreny 2012, 343, fig. 41a; and Otto Benesch, *Die Zeichnungen der niederländischen Schulen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1928), no. 75, as Bruegel. Benesch also references another copy of the composition in a private collection, which includes a different inscription under the owl: "Laet den Pelgrim wandelen" ("Let the pilgrim wander"). For false attribution to Bruegel, see Koreny 2012, 343, 344n7.
- 13 Ilsink 2009, 30–32, points out that the attribution to Bosch on the image within an image is indicative of the slipperiness and ambiguity of the links between the many mid-sixteenth-century compositions attributed to Bosch and actual works by the artist.
- 14 The costume also seems to support a retrospective atmosphere: the long elements hanging from the sleeve of the lute player and the barber, for example. The beguines may also refer satirically to a bygone era.
- 15 Paul Vandenbroeck, "'Jheronimus Bosch' zogenaamde *Tuin der Lusten*," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1990): 84–85; and Ilsink 2009, 30–34, who also notes Bosch's use of owls as a "crypto-signature."
- 16 See Joseph Koerner, "Bosch's Equipment," in Lorraine Daston, *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 27–65. Koerner emphasizes the difference in Bosch's and Bruegel's world views (p. 222) and notes how surprising Bruegel's work is in the context of earlier sacred art (p. 236).
- 17 See H. Perry Chapman, et al., eds., *Jan Steen, Painter and Storyteller* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996); and Thomas Schlessler, ed., *Jordaens, 1593–1678: La gloire d'Anvers* (Paris: Musée du Petit Palais, 2013). See cat. 32 in this volume for more on the proverb.
- 18 Roger-Armand Weigert, *Inventaire du Fonds Français: Graveurs du XVIIe Siècle*, vol. V (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1968), 394–441.
- 19 This switch from pilgrim to soldier owl suggests a continued awareness in Paris of the owl woodcuts, or at least that type of image, a century after they were made and a half-century after the 1567 Cock publication.
- 20 Pierre Béhar, "La guerre de deux cents ans," and Alain Larcen, "Callot et la société militaire," in Paulette Choné, ed., *Jacques Callot 1592–1635* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992), 279–388, cat. 507–525, 402ff.
- 21 Michel de Marolles, *Catalogue de livres d'estampes et de figures en taille douce. Avec un dénombrement des pièces qui y sont contenues* (Paris: Frederic Leonard, 1666). See further discussion of the Marolles collection in my "Hieronymus Cock and the Invention of the Print Market in Antwerp," in this volume, and in cat. 2, 3.
- 22 On the Marolles album and "genre," see Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genre Prints in the Netherlands, 1550–1700* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1997), 22–23. Prints in the current exhibition that are also included in the Marolles albums are cat. 3, 19, 23, 24, 30, 31.



L'ung le sot, quela' autre l'autre tendre voyez.
Le tout pour bien avoir, plus tost que pourrez.

Deen, siemen den sot, dander wist anders scheeren.
Oracht ghy waerom, elck pryst hebben voor ontveeren.

CAT. 25

Unknown engraver in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Loving Couple, n.d.

Engraving, only state

Image and platemark: 7 × 9 3/16 in. (17.8 × 23.3 cm)

Sheet: 8 7/16 × 10 11/16 in. (21.4 × 27.1 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 30); Hollstein (Cock, no. 143); Riggs 1977, no. a-8; Lafond 2002, no. 40

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

Lung le sot, quelq' autre lautre tondre voyez,

Le tout pour biens avoir, plustost; que pouvrez.

Deen sietmen den sot, dander wat anders scheeren,

Vraecht ghy waerom? elck pryst hebben voor ontbeeren.

This print's modern title, *The Loving Couple*, focuses on the man and woman who embrace before the roaring fire, but it ignores the action that commands more than half of the composition, namely the proverbial shaving of the fool, a subject also shown on the right-hand side of *Shrove Tuesday* (cat. 23). Both prints share their subject matter with the drawing now in the British Museum (cat. 23b). This confirms the loose connection with Bosch, but this print includes a handful of additional revealing details. First, the locale is even more clearly identified as a tavern by its fireplace devoid of cooking utensils, which emphasizes its function to generate heat, and the woman at a board on the wall is marking up someone's tab. Thus, as the woman kissing her partner before the well-stoked fire digs her left hand into his purse, we understand that these "lovers" are a prostitute and her client, and she is taking him for a fool by filching some extra cash in the heat of the moment.

This matches the description of a print catalogued in the nineteenth century and presumably published by Aux Quatre Vents. That print, however, was said to be in the opposite direction (lovers on the left, fool on the right). Although no example of that precise print has been located, this engraving would appear to be a copy of it in reverse, a hypothesis that is supported by the somewhat clumsy execution, in which, among other things, spatial relationships are vague, the fool's gender is ambiguous, and the woman sitting on the lap of the man seems to be in an impossible contortion.¹

The literature variously describes three Boschian prints that incorporate the subject of shaving the fool: *Shrove Tuesday* and another referred to as *The Fool's Room*, both of which are said to be engraved by Pieter van der Heyden and published by Hieronymus Cock, and a third referenced by the same title as the print here, *The Loving Couple*, but in the reverse orientation with no engraver noted and said to be published by Aux Quatre Vents.² Karl Heinrich Heineken first catalogued *Shrove Tuesday* in 1789, calling it "Le Mardy gras, où une femme fait des baignets" ("Shrove Tuesday, in which a woman makes [fried pastries]"), and he mentioned a second print that he called "Le Sot qui rase un autre Sot" ("A fool who shaves another fool"). Almost a century later, G. K. Nagler and Wilhelm Schmidt both

published lists of prints after Bosch, in 1871 and 1872, respectively. Nagler's list includes only one Boschian fool-shaving print, attributed to van der Heyden and called "The Fool's Room, costumed men and women in a tavern." However, Nagler noted the first two words of the accompanying verse on this print as "Masquers entrez . . .," the opening words of the verses on *Shrove Tuesday*. He thus appears to have collapsed *Shrove Tuesday* and *The Fool's Room* into a single print. To make matters more confusing, Schmidt increased the number of such prints to three: first, *Shrove Tuesday*, which he properly described and credited to van der Heyden and Cock in 1567; then he lists a print titled *A Fool Shaving Another Fool*, attributed to van der Heyden and published by Hieronymus Cock; and finally *The Loving Couple*, with the fool on the right, the same archaic French verse as the present print, and no engraver's name but published by "Aux Quatre Vents," which by current scholarship, we would understand as having been published by Cock's widow after 1570. Contemporary scholars have located only *Shrove Tuesday* and the present *Loving Couple*, and since few of the other prints from these nineteenth-century lists of prints after Bosch remain undiscovered, it might be fruitful to question whether there were, in fact, only ever two prints: *Shrove Tuesday* and one other depicting also a pair of lovers before a fire, of which the present print is a copy.³

This foolish scene is, of course, most reminiscent of the version of the fool-shaving proverb in which the novice barber takes advantage of the fool in order to learn how to shave, where the warning is to avoid being the guinea pig.⁴ Whereas *Shrove Tuesday* presents a humorous-looking nun posing upon completion of the act of shaving, in *The Loving Couple*, the barber wears an ominously thick pair of glasses and is just poised to begin shaving the fool's head, the knife unnervingly close to the fool's eye. This recalls the wider role of barber-surgeons, a subject once again pioneered in the visual arts by Bosch: the activity known as "stone-cutting," in which a quack doctor cuts a stone or stones out of a patient/victim's cranium as a cure for folly.⁵ An engraving by Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder shows the stone-cutting operation in process. Known as *The Stone Operation* or *The Witch of Mallegem* (Mallegem being a fictitious village whose name roughly translates as "Crazyham" or "Follyhood"), it shows a stone operation occurring at a long wooden table not unlike the one here and another taking place inside an eggshell in the lower right-hand corner.

Despite similarities between *Shrove Tuesday* and *The Loving Couple*, it is clear the occasion in the latter has shifted from a food-centered Carnival atmosphere to a more workaday view of a village tavern, where casual prostitution occurs and the barber-surgeon is set up with the tools of his trade on the countertop: scissors, comb, beaker, bowl, and glass flasks. Both prints, however, anticipate seventeenth-century "genre" subjects in the visual arts that skew away from the established canon of religious art, much like the kitchen and market scenes of Pieter Aertsen and Bruegel's peasant pictures of the mid-sixteenth century, and presaging the mid-seventeenth-century domestic narratives of artists such as Jan Steen.⁶ The motif of an amorous couple before a roaring fire appears, for example, in an engraving by Cornelis van Kittensteyn after Dirck Hals from the 1620s, which employs a similar association between the couple's sensual embrace and the hot blaze of the fire.

The sixteenth century saw a rebirth of the genres of the visual arts, including landscape, portraiture, still life, and what we now, in fact, simply call “genre,” an efflorescence that can be traced in part to Bosch. The relationship of *The Loving Couple* and other prints like it to “genre” in general, and to Bosch more specifically, derives as much from the early Netherlandish master’s willingness to move marginal subjects to the center of his ambitious panel paintings as it does to his example of exploiting a broad category of moralizing subjects in his art, from *The Garden of Earthly Delights* to *The Blind Leading the Blind* and *Shaving the Fool*. – E.W.

Notes

1 Just two known impressions of the present print have been recorded. The other is in the British Museum, inv. no. 1873-5-10-3569.

2 Karl Heinrich Heineken, *Dictionnaire des artistes dont nous avons des estampes, avec une notice détaillée de leurs ouvrages gravés*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Jean Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1789), 185, mentions a single print of this subject: “16. Le Sot qui rase un autre Sot, [piece]. sembl[able].”; “11. Le Mardy gras ou *Shrove Tuesday*.” G. K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten und diejenigen bekannten und unbekannten Künstler aller Schulen...*, vol. 4 (Munich: Georg Franz’sche Buch- und Kunsthandlung, 1871), 552 [under Pieter van der Heyden], no. 13: “Die Narrenstube, verkleidete Männer und Frauen in der Schenke: Masquers entrez. . . . Nach H. Bos, aus Cock’s Verlag, qu. fol.” Wilhelm Schmidt, “Aeken,” in Julius Meyer, ed., *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1872), 97, no. 20: “Holländische Küche mit Waffelbäckerei oder der Fastnachtsdienstag. Masquers entrez. . . sot wel scheeren. Mit dem Monogramm des Petrus a Merica [Pieter van der Heyden]. Hiero. Bos Inuentor. H. Cock excudebat. 1567. kl. qu. Fol.”; no. 21: “Ein Narr scheert den andern. Mit dem Monogramm des Petrus a Merica. H. Cock exc. kl. qu. Fol.”; and no. 25: “Die Verliebten; sie sitzt auf des Mannes Schoose vor einem rauchenden Kamine, Rechts wird ein Narr geschoren. Lung le sot. . . voor ontbeeren. Mit der Adr. Aux quatre vents. Ohne Namen des Stechers. 4.”; Hollstein (III.140.25, after Bosch): “Shrove Tuesday. Dutch Kitchen with Wafer[sic]-Bakery, Masquers entrez. . . [etc., correct transcription]; no. 26: “The Fool’s Room. A Fool Shaving Another Fool. H. Cock exc. PAVE[sic] sc.”; also mentions “Davidsohn II,” referring to the nineteenth-century German collector Paul Davidsohn, whose second sale of prints was November 22–26, 1920, in Leipzig; Frits Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d’estampes* (Amsterdam: Vereenigde drukkerijen, 1921), L.654; Hollstein (Cock, nos. 138–39), “Shrove Tuesday. Hiero. Bos Inventor. H. Cock excudebat

1567...”; no. 139: “The fool’s room. H. Cock exc.” no. 143: “The loving couple. Aux Quatre Vents....”; Hollstein (van der Heyden, nos. 48–49): “Shrove Tuesday. Dutch Kitchen with Wafer[sic]-Bakery. Hiero. Bos Inventor. H. Cock excudebat 1567”; no. 49: “The Fool’s Room. A Fool Shaving Another Fool, Hieronymus Bos inv. H. Cock exc.”

3 There is some inconsistency in these early publications about the designation of “Cock” and “Aux Quatre Vents” from entry to entry, and it is possible that there was some confusion about that: we now know very well that Cock himself tended always to include his own name on his publications, with the occasional reference to Aux Quatre Vents, or In de Vier Winden, but that his widow always applied only the simple address “Aux Quatre Vents” to prints issued after her husband’s death. This was likely not so well known in the nineteenth century.

4 For discussion of the proverb and its various meanings, see cat. 23, 24, as well as Vandenbroeck 1987, 316–17 for the convoluted etymology of the phrase.

5 The motif of the quack was popular in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painting, and is always noted as deriving from Bosch; *The Conjuror* (or *Charlatan*) (cat. 27) is one of the classic surviving examples. Peter Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), 229–31, cat. 59; and Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 40–41.

6 Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*; Lynn F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 189–219; and Frédéric Elsig, *La Naissance des Genres: la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas (avant 1620) au Musée d’art et d’histoire de Geneve* (Paris: Somogy, 2005), 21.



DI ALDE LEER IS DROOCH. VNDE VERROMPEN ICK EN BENS NIET LEECH TE VERPOMPEN
MEESTER SOE BID ICK VOER MIJN NICHTE HAREN BLAESBALCHEN IS NIET DICHT IHERONIMVS BOSCH INVEN

CAT. 26

Unknown engraver in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Bellows Maker, n.d.

Engraving, only state

Image: 10 7/8 × 11 5/16 in. (27.6 × 28.7 cm)

Platemark: 11 1/16 × 11 7/16 in. (28.1 × 29.1 cm)

Sheet: 11 3/16 × 11 5/8 in. (28.4 × 29.5 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Unverfehrt 1980, no. 227; Vandenbroeck 1987, 85–89; Koldeweij et al. 2001, 127, 129; Vandenbroeck 2002, 87–92

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the lower margin:

DIT ALDE LEER IS DROOCH UNDE VERROMPEN ICK EN BENS NIET LEECH TE VERPOMPEN

MEESTER SOE BID ICK VOER MIJN NICHTE HAREN BLAESBALCH EN IS NIET DICHT

IHERONIMUS BOSCH INVEN[TOR?]

The cramped interior depicted in this print can be identified as the shop of a bellows maker or repairman by the activity taking place as well as by the little bellows drawn on the window glass. A hunched old woman with a bandaged hand and a rosary hanging from her waist approaches the stout bellows maker using a cane that seems to have an animal's foot at its base. She is accompanied by a boy carrying a toy windmill who has a sausage tacked to his open frock coat but wears no pants, and by a nun who follows behind carrying a bellows.¹ The verses below tell us that the tradesman doesn't have the time to repair the worn bellows, even as the old woman implores him to repair the bellows of the nun—her niece, she says—since it won't close (isn't airtight).

This is one of a handful of prints (including cat. 17, 18, and 27) that share their subject matter with paintings from the circle of Bosch, and in this case there is a record of a no-longer-extant painting of a bellows maker by Bosch in the royal collection in Madrid, just as there is for a painting related to the subject of *The Blind Leading the Blind*.² The present composition survives in at least three works: the engraving here, of which two impressions are currently known, an oil painting on panel (cat. 26a), and a drawing (cat. 26b).³ These three iterations of a curious subject associated with Bosch confirm the market viability in numerous mediums of compositions relating to his work, and they demonstrate the fluidity with which prints and drawings joined the supply of painted copies during a period in which the print market was establishing and defining itself. Only the drawing includes a date (1570), but it seems likely, given the profusion of such compositions in the mid-sixteenth century, that the three were all made within a relatively short period.⁴

The painting shows that the woman's dress is tattered, and it also provides a clue as to why the bellows maker might be wearing a patch over his eye, since a glimpse of his demonstrably bloodshot eye is visible behind the patch, although precisely what that is meant to suggest remains obscure.⁵ A reading of these compositions goes well beyond a humble request for the bellows maker's services. Two live birds embellish the background: an owl that poses alarmingly in a niche with its captured prey and a caged bird displayed beside the window;



Cat. 26a. In the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Bellows Maker*, n.d. Oil on panel.
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai

both bring associations of a brothel (*vogelen*, “to bird,” is a frequently utilized euphemism for sex), and they create an ominous pairing that does not bode well for the characters depicted.⁶ The haggard, one-handed auntie can be seen as acting as a procuress for her “niece,” but with the owl behind him, the bellows maker is more predator than prey.⁷ With his bloodshot eye, he, too, is depicted as infirm, and yet he clearly takes the upper hand and is not about to get mixed up with old, worn-out leather.⁸

Far from being a neutral object, a bellows is associated not only with “windbags,” or pompous personalities, but also with female genitalia—in this case, elderly anatomy that is no longer working so well. Unorthodox use of bellows appears in other prints in this exhibition, notably being played as instruments: the “musician” in *Merrymakers in a Mussel Shell* (cat. 20) strums his stringless bellows with what Dirk Bax has identified as a goat trotter (signifying the greater sexual appetite of the goat as opposed to the more meaty pig’s trotter).⁹ In *Shrove Tuesday* (cat. 23), an animated beguine “plays” her bellows in the left background, suggestively positioned beneath a skewered bird and an abandoned distaff and spindle behind her.¹⁰

A sexualized, misogynistic view of old women was not uncommon in the literature and visual arts of early modern Europe, where elderly, widowed, often indigent women faced accusations of witchcraft and were associated with outsized sexual appetites.¹¹ Unattractive elderly women, their sexual proclivity considered all the more wicked given they were beyond their childbearing years, appear in a number of the prints under consideration (cat. 19, 21–23, 27–31), and the patched dress evident in the painting and drawing related to this print clearly identify the woman as needy, implying loose morals as well.



Cat. 26b. Anonymous artist, *The Bellows Maker*, 1570. Pen and ink and wash. The British Museum, London

In rhetoricians' dramas of the time, the practice of a trade also often served as a sexual metaphor, and Frans Huys's *Lute-Maker* (cat. 26c) is just one of many examples that take place in a tradesman's workshop.¹² In Huys's print, an old woman (identified in the text as "Mrs. Longnose") likewise approaches a repairman with yet another object typically associated with female anatomy, a lute, which misses its strings.¹³ As the lute-maker is busy tuning someone else's instrument, he predictably claims that he does not have the time to fix hers. Another old woman, with a patch over *her* eye, appears in the doorway armed with her own unstrung lute and accompanied by the sausage boy's twin, pantless as well but astride a hobbyhorse. More sexual innuendoes abound, including a fireplace reminiscent of that in *The Loving Couple* (cat. 25) roaring in the background, with a kettle suggestively placed next to the woman's lute (the kettle—indeed any vessel—being shorthand for female sexuality, too).

Not only old women but also youth, young boys in particular, such as the sausage boy, appear frequently in these prints (cat. 20, 22, 25, 27–32), and inasmuch as the images may be read as commenting on old women and their relationship to tradesmen, they also seem to be concerned with the impact of such behavior on impressionable youth. Pieter Bruegel the Elder's 1560 painting *Children's Games* presents a village full of children playing games, including a foolish-looking adolescent boy playing with a whirligig and a younger pair engaged in a windmill tournament, in addition to children play-acting marriage and baptism rituals, a reflection of contemporary writings about modes of learning through mimicry.¹⁴ Positive or negative imitation of elders are both possible, and the toys sported by the boys in the prints—a windmill and hobbyhorse—reinforce the idea that these children of impressionable age will come to naught.¹⁵

The windmill carried by this stiff little boy, who stands as if frozen between the old woman and the bellows maker, might suggest folly through the windmill's unpredictability, dependence on the wind, and mindless turning, but the windmill can also take on a more positive connotation, one related to Bosch.¹⁶ This boy does in fact recall Bosch's Christ child on the back of the panel of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna, where the young Christ is depicted walking with the aid of a tiny walker and carrying a toy windmill just like the boy here. In an active pose, he presents a positive image of youth, learning by playing, and he demonstrates his humanity not only by playing ordinary children's games but also with the exposure of his genitalia, to borrow from Leo Steinberg's brilliant argument, and at the same time in his earnest demeanor he displays foreknowledge of his mortality.¹⁷ The windmill in this case recalls windmills in scenes of the Crucifixion, where they echo the form of the cross but also symbolize the bread of the Eucharist.

The boy in *The Bellows Maker* is, of course, no Christ, and the sausage strapped to his chest echoes his exposed penis in a naughty visual pun. The other boy's hobbyhorse would seem to be a rude contrast to the three-legged walker, itself an image of the Christian trinity versus the undisciplined galloping of the horse. The boy's inactivity is in marked contrast to Bosch's active Christ child, and the expressions in the three versions vary from impassive to smirking and almost lewd, slyly letting the viewer in on the joke that he is learning the facts of life from a very negative point of view, and he is taking it all in. – E.W.



Cat. 26c. Frans Huys, *The Lute-Maker*, n.d. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Notes

- 1 Sandra Hindman, "Pieter Bruegel's Children's Games, Folly, and Chance," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 449, notes that such garments were worn by boys between the ages of five and eleven, sometimes with pants or socks.
- 2 Watercolor paintings depicting *The Blind Leading the Blind* and *The Bellows Maker* are mentioned multiple times in the early-seventeenth-century royal inventories. See Pilar Silva Maroto, "Bosch in Spain: On the Works Recorded in the Royal Inventories," in Jos Koldeweij and Bernard Vermet, eds., *Hieronymus Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2001), 41–46; and Paul Vandenbroeck, "The Spanish *inventarios reales* and Hieronymus Bosch," in *ibid.*, 49–63.
- 3 Another impression of the engraving is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Tf.3, fol. 1. The inscriptions on the three compositions have slight variations. On the painting, inscribed on two banderoles: "Meester soe bid ick voer my(n) nicht / Haer(en) blasbalck en is niet dicht/ Dit alde ler is droch en verroppen/Ick en bins niet lech te verpompem"; two lines below the drawing: "Meester zoe bidick dan Voer myn nicht / hare blaesbalckh en is oock nz [niet] dicht, / Dit oude leer is drooghe en Verroppen / ick en ben niet leech om dat te Verpompem." The drawing has been published as from the circle of Pieter Bruegel the Elder; see Fedja Anzelewsky, et al., *Pieter Breughel d. Ä. als Zeichner: Herkunft und Nachfolge* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1975), cat. 199.
- 4 Vandenbroeck 2002, 88, dates the painting to about 1560.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 87, notes the eye patches on the bellows maker and the second woman in Huys's *Lute-Maker*, discussed subsequently, but cannot make further comments other than they seem to be associated with poverty.
- 6 *Ibid.* Regarding the space of brothels in northern Europe, see Diane Wolfthal, *In and Out of the Marital Bed: Seeing Sex in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 86–95.
- 7 The theme of the old woman as procuress lived on into the seventeenth century, for example in the work of Peter Paul Rubens and the Utrecht Caravaggisti. Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 68–69, 270n30; Joaneath Spicer and Lynn Federle Orr, *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery; San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1997), 244–48, cat. 38.
- 8 Bax 1979, 232.
- 9 See also the trotter being played as a shawm in cat. 21.
- 10 For discussion of virtue and sexuality in women in sixteenth-century Nuremberg, see Alison G. Stewart, "Distaffs and Spindles: Sexual Misbehavior in Sebald Beham's *Spinning Bee*," in Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Stewart, eds., *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003), 127–54.
- 11 Vandenbroeck 2002, 87–92; Jan Op de Beeck, et al., *De zotte schilders: moraalriders van het penseel rond Bosch, Bruegel en Brouwer* (Mechelen: Centrum voor Oude Kunst, 't Vliegend Peert, 2003), 157–60; Linda C. Hults, "Dürer's *Four Witches* Reconsidered," in Carroll and Stewart, *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters*, 94–106; Alison Rowlands, "Witchcraft and Old Women in Early Modern Germany," *Past and Present* 173 (2001): 50–89; and Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 35–66.
- 12 Vandenbroeck 2002, 88–89.
- 13 Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genre Prints in the Netherlands, 1550–1700* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1997), 63–66, cat. 5; and Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*, 109.
- 14 Sandra Hindman, "Pieter Bruegel's Children's Games, Folly, and Chance," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 447–75; Mark Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 20; and Edward Snow, "'Meaning' in Children's Games: On the Limitations of the Iconographic Approach to Bruegel," *Representations* 2 (1983): 26–60.
- 15 For windmills in children's hands as a sign of folly, see Hindman, *Bruegel's Children's Games*, 449.
- 16 Bax 1979, 167–68.
- 17 James S. Pierce, "Memling's Mills," *Studies in Medieval Culture* II (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, The Medieval Institute, 1966): 111–19; Walter S. Gibson, "Bosch's Boy with a Whirligig: Some Iconographical Speculations," *Simiolus* 8.1 (1975–76): 9–15; Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (New York: A Pantheon/October Book, 1983); and Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 486–90.



Och wat vintmen coenstken in t'werelts ronden
Die door den guycheljaek wonder connen brouwen
En doen tuolck spouwen met hare loofe vonden
Wonder op de tafels waer dore sijn huys houwen
daer oen betrouwe niet tot gheene stonden
Want verloor di ooc v borle stoude vrouwen

Deent myde borle sonder geruchten
Dander jaet daer mede loopen
Di Doorden vinger sijn och eluchen
en gauen sijn geel sijn ofet betouwen

CAT. 27

Balthasar van den Bos (b. 's-Hertogenbosch, 1518–d. 1580, Antwerp)
in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Conjuror (or Charlatan), n.d.

Engraving, only state

Image and platemark: 9 11/16 × 12 9/16 in. (24.6 × 31.9 cm)

Sheet: 9 13/16 × 12 11/16 in. (24.9 × 32.2 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 33); *Jheronimus Bosch* 1967, no. 97; Unverfehrt 1980, 114–16, no. 21c; Lafond 2002, no. 28; Koldeweij et al. 2001, 150–51; Vandenbroeck 2002, 71; Ilsink 2009, 119–21; Luttkhuizen 2010, no. 25; Koreny 2012, no. 25

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

De ene snijt de borse sonder geruchten

Dander gaet daer mede loopen

Di' Doorden vinger siet tsijn ock cluchte[n]

en gaven sij gen geelt sij mostet becoopen

Och wat vintmen Coenskens in tswereelts rondē

Die door den guijchelsack wonder connen brouwen

En doen tvolck spouwen met hare loose vonden

Wonder op de tafele waer dore sij huijs houwen

daeroen betrouse niet tot gheene stonden

Want verloor di ooc u borse tsoude u rouwen

IHERONIMUS BOSCH INVINTOR

B. S. H. [part of “S” and “H” are drawn by hand in pen and ink]

D. MARCOLEUS RU[STICUS?]

This scene, which is variously titled *The Conjuror* or *Charlatan*, is rife with allusions to deceit and immorality, starting with the well-known ball trick with which the man on the right holds his audience in rapt attention.¹ The game suggests a simple (mortal) magician's sleight of hand, while the bringing forth of a frog from the mouth of an old woman in the crowd smacks of the supernatural, of sorcery or witchcraft—or perhaps it is just another form of quackery.² The old woman, sometimes identified as a man, is so absorbed with the amphibian emerging from her lips that she fails to notice the bespectacled character behind her is cutting the strings of her purse as his barefoot neighbor reaches to snatch it.³ The verses on the wall adjacent to these figures tell us that “the one cuts the purse silently” while “the other runs away with it,” clarifying that the two men are in cahoots, and they are likely accomplices of the conjuror/charlatan himself.⁴ This interpretation is supported by the scene in a similar drawing now attributed to an unknown follower of Bosch (cat. 27a), where a gentleman next to a young woman points to the conjuror with one arm while the other moves around her waist to steal her purse.⁵

Of all the moralizing subjects produced in mid-sixteenth-century Antwerp in the mode of Bosch, the one depicted here is indisputably the most extensively discussed, in part because several closely related works survive: this print, the drawing, and at least five painted variants, which together attest to the popularity of the theme.⁶ The earliest in-depth analyses of *The Conjuror* appeared in two articles, one by Lotte Brand Philip in 1958, which focused on various instances of the peddler, the conjuror, and the stone operation in the work of



Cat. 27a. Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Charlatan*, n.d. Pen and brown ink. Musée du Louvre, Paris

Bosch and his circle, and the vociferous corrective to her arguments by Dirk Bax in the same journal four years later.⁷

Along with a handful of other scholars, Brand Philip assiduously attempted to link the types she discussed with astrological symbolism (the *Planetenkinder*).⁸ Although evidence for an “original” *Conjuror* by Bosch is largely circumstantial, she was furthermore wedded to the idea that one existed, or had existed, and that it was essentially an amalgam of all of the details present in the various “copies,” to the extent that she created her own reconstruction—a classic example of the ways in which art history has attempted to seek the original intentions and inventions of Bosch in the voluminous posthumous response to his work and reputation.⁹

While earlier authors typically described the composition as a relatively accessible “moralizing genre which attacks gullibility and folly,” Jeffrey Hamburger argued in 1984 for an added layer of meaning in which false faith and heresy are derided as well.¹⁰ He identified the scene as an anti-Mass similar to that in Bosch’s triptych *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (p. 18, fig. 5), with the conjuror as a servant of the antichrist who lures a gullible public away from the path of Christ. This gives further meaning to details such as the frog (universally considered a filthy and evil creature aligned with the devil), the gesture with which the top-hatted conjuror holds up the ball (just like priests were instructed to hold up the host), as well as the church in the background just beneath the conjuror’s raised hand.¹¹ Such a reading suggests the reasons why the main character here and in the related works has been alternately identified as a charlatan and a conjuror, highlighting the multifaceted character of the best of the works inspired by Bosch’s example.¹²

The print’s engraver, Balthasar van den Bos, was born in Bosch’s hometown of ’s-Hertogenbosch in 1518, just two years after his illustrious predecessor’s death.¹³ Although he took his surname from his birthplace, Bos’s professional career began in Antwerp, where he was living by 1543 and where he joined the St. Luke’s Guild in 1551, five years after his contemporary Hieronymus Cock, who published many of his prints.¹⁴ The work he produced for Cock as well as for Hans Liefrinck included engravings and etchings after Italian artists such as Raphael and Giulio Romano, and Italianizing Netherlandish artists such as Frans Floris and Lambert Lombard. Bos also appears to have published a number of prints himself, including the print here and a version of *Shrove Tuesday* (cat. 23a).



Cat. 27b. Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Charlatan*, n.d. Oil on panel. Municipal Museum, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France

With *The Conjuror*, he was clearly looking not only to his hometown hero Bosch but also to native subject matter, as so many others were doing in the 1550s and 1560s.¹⁵

The distinctions between the different versions of *The Conjuror* have been frequently rehearsed. The Louvre drawing shows the conjuror behind a table with a crowd of mixed age and gender similar to the one in the print, lacking the old woman but including a drum-playing gypsy woman, who is not repeated in any of the other versions. The print is in the same direction as all the rest, which means that Bos took care not to reverse the composition, if we assume he was working from one of the extant paintings.¹⁶ All of the painted variations, including the one considered the earliest (cat. 27b), include the owl secreted in a basket at the conjuror's waist, solidifying his disreputable identity, and some of them likewise show the Boschian dog in fool's costume at his feet, curiously behind the table, invisible to the crowd. The boy carries a hoop in the drawing but an upside-down toy windmill in the paintings and print (see also cat. 26), although a hoop strategically highlights the word "INVINTOR" on the print. In the paintings and the print, the boy peeks around from the other side of the vomiting woman, apparently witnessing the theft—is he, too, an accomplice? The mingling of all walks of life and ages here as in a majority of these Boschian images reinforces the ubiquity of the danger posed by gullibility, folly, and greed, while at the same time presenting the viewer with a humorous set of characters in a scene full of visual and verbal puzzles.

The print alone features the barefooted accomplice as well as inscriptions, including the one attributing Bosch as the “inventor” of the composition. Another decorates the hem of the conjuror’s garment, which reads D * MARCOLEVS * RV, perhaps a fragment of a longer phrase that continues around the entire hem.¹⁷ The meaning of this is obscure. However, if Bos confused a single letter and “Marcoleus” were read as “Marcolfus,” it would connect the conjuror to the foolishly clever peasant Marcolf, whose dialogue with the wise Old Testament king Solomon circulated across Europe in numerous versions in manuscript and print, and was published in Antwerp in Latin and English in 1492 as well as in Dutch in 1501. At the start of the story, Solomon asks about Marcolf’s origins, and Marcolf agrees to answer, but only after Solomon relates his own origins. The peasant then echoes Solomon’s account of his descent from the Twelve Tribes of Israel by saying that he descends from the Twelve Tribes of Peasants, the first of which was called “Rusticus,” which could clearly be the source of “RV” (“RU”) in the inscription.¹⁸ The “D” perhaps refers to “D[ominus],” which appears in the text in reference to a “lord” or “king.” Eventually Marcolf so exasperated King Solomon with his impudence that he was sentenced to death by hanging, which may help to explain the figure of a man hanging from the gallows that appears in the background of two of the painted versions of the scene (cat. 27c). In the story, however, Marcolf brazenly escapes even this final judgment. The “Coensken” of the print’s inscription translates as “trickster,” but its root, *koen*, means courageous and bold, including to the point of recklessness. Thus the charlatan/conjuror/quack in his floor-length robe deceiving the gullible crowd is linked with the ancient trickster Marcolf, who deceived even the wise King Solomon to the end. – E.W.



Cat. 27c. Follower of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Charlatan*, n.d. Oil on panel. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Purchased with the W. P. Wiltach Fund, 1914

Notes

1 In the Dutch literature the subject is known as the *Goochelaar*, “conjuror” or “magician,” as opposed to *kwakzalver*, which translates as “quack” or “charlatan.”

2 The cup-and-ball trick seems to be idle on the table; does the ball that he displays with his right hand (with something concealed in his left) relate to the same game or to another?

3 Lotte Brand Philip observes that the figure is a woman because of the key that hangs with her purse from her waist. Brand Philip “The *Peddler* by Hieronymus Bosch, a Study in Detection,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 9 (1958): 35n67. See also Bax 1979, 2015. A comparison of this figure with the numerous other old women in Boschian prints and paintings of the period reveal that all of them have masculine characteristics; see discussion in cat. 26.

4 A similar scene with a pair of pickpockets working together appears in Bruegel’s *Avarice*; see Brand Philip, “The *Peddler*,” 25n54.

5 Koreny 2012, 282–85, cat. 25. Vandenbroeck 1987, 71, provides support for the argument that in life as in literature of the time, events where people gathered in public were a favorite site for thieves and cheats.

6 The known paintings are all illustrated in Brand Philip, “The *Peddler*.” Vandenbroeck, 2002, 70, identifies the conjuror’s hat as characteristic of “travelers, pilgrims and vagabonds [*zwervende marginalen*].”

7 Brand Philip, “The *Peddler*,” 1–82; Dirk Bax, “Bezwaren tegen L. Brand Philips Interpretatie van Jeroen Bosch’ marskramer, goochelaar, keisnijder en voorgrond van hooiwagenpaneel,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 13 (1962): 1–54.

8 For further references on Bosch, astrology, and alchemy, see Jeffrey Hamburger, “Bosch’s Conjuror: An Attack on Magic and Sacramental Heresy,” *Simiolus* 14 (1984): 5–23, esp. 6 and 6n3.

9 For discussion of *The Conjuror* versions and their link to Bosch, see Vandenbroeck 2002, 70–74; and Koreny 2012, 282–85; as well as Unverfehrt 1980, 114–16, no. 21; Peter Sutton, *Northern European Painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art: From the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1990), 34–37, no. 12; and Silver, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 318–20. For discussion of *The Conjuror* in relation to Bruegel’s drawing *The Painter and the Connoisseur*, see Ilsink 2009, 117–22.

10 Hamburger, “Bosch’s Conjuror,” 5.

11 Ibid., 8–17. Hamburger also likens the ball held up by the conjuror to a Eucharistic wafer, amounting to a form of blasphemy.

12 Vandenbroeck 1987, 71, makes the distinction between magic and sorcery.

13 Bos signed sometimes “BB” and at other times “BS,” as on this print, or “Sylvius,” the Latinized form of his name. Note that the central lower edge of this impression was damaged and repaired, and that a section including part of the inscription was redrawn in pen and ink. For some reason, the inscription seems to have been misunderstood and transcribed as “BSH” instead of “BSF,” the “F” standing for the Latin “fecit,” or “made it.”

14 Bos is said by several authors to have studied (or “collaborated”) in Italy with Marcantonio Raimondi, but precise evidence for that has not been uncovered. Ilsink 2009, 119; Waldemar Deluga, “Prints by Balthasar van den Bos from the Collection of Albrecht von Saebisch,” *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 17 (1997): 1–6. Hollstein vol. III, lists seventy-one prints by Bos, although at least one series of twelve ornament prints was not included by Hollstein; see Deluga, “Prints by Balthasar van den Bos,” 4.

15 This plate, identified as “noch een coensken” (“another trickster”) is listed along with others in his possession in a 1567 document; see Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp. The Introduction of Printmaking in a City: Fifteenth Century to 1585*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 1997), 390–91. (Van der Stock mistakenly corrects *coensken*, believing it was a misspelling.)

16 It could also be that the painters used Bos’s print as a source, but a thorough study of all the paintings would be necessary to determine that. Regarding the notion that the St.-Germain-en-Laye version dates later in the sixteenth century but was made to look older, see Vandenbroeck 2002, 71.

17 With thanks to Marisa Bass for help confirming this. The recent literature on Solomon and Marcolf includes Jan M. Ziolkowski, ed. and trans., *Solomon and Marcolf* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); and Nancy M. Bradbury and Scott Bradbury, eds., *The Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolf: A Dual-Language Edition from Latin and Middle English Printed Editions* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2012).

18 “Ic ben vanden twalef geslachten der rustiers. Te weten van Rusticus die welcken ghewan Rusta. Rusta gewan Rustum. Rustus gewan Rusticellus. Rusticellus gewan Tarcus . . .” Henrik Eckert van Homberch, *Dat dyalogus of twisprake tusschen den wisen coninck Salomon ende Marcolphus* [1501], ed. W. L. de Vreese and Jan P. M. L. de Vries (Leiden: Brill, 1941), http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_dya001dya101_01_dy-a001dya101_01_0002.php?q=marcolfus.



CAT. 28

Unknown engraver in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Dissolute Household, n.d.

Engraving, i/ii

Published by Aux Quatre Vents, Antwerp

Image: 8 1/6 × 11 1/16 in. (20.5 × 28.1 cm)

Sheet: 8 3/16 × 11 1/8 in. (20.8 × 28.3 cm), trimmed within platemark

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Baltens, no. 5); Hollstein (Bosch, no. 46); De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 122; Riggs 1977, no. 261; Gibson 1978, 673–74; Lafond 2002, no. A-10

INSCRIPTIONS:

in the order of the narrative, counterclockwise from lower right to upper left, within and in the margin below the image:

Ick Sorghelos leven stelle dwerck opt sijne,
En een duenken te spelen hen Ick bedocht,
Om Verlega mijn wijf mijn liefste amije.
Ke, tis Morghen tijts ghenoch voort ghewrocht.

En Ick Verlega scheppe hier groot Jolijt
In Sorghelos leven mijnen man uit minnen
Springht op Fluerken licht voet, met Ghoosken lijd den tijt,
Morghen heb Ick noch tijts ghenoech om spinnen.

Om dat Ick mij te seere opden Morgen heb verlaten,
Daer om draghe Ick Naraet die cleeren met gaten.

Och Danteloriye, dat is een troostelijck woordt,
So so Meester speelt op, Morghen wercken wij voort.

Die Gansen hebben den cost, soo elck oock fal,
Wat wildij doch al sorghen, Godt verleenet al.

Hest u van hier Naraet, laet onsen meester sorghen,
Dat wij nu niet en doen, dat doen wij Morghen.

Aux Quatre Vents.



CAT. 29

Unknown engraver in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Dissolute Household, n.d.

Engraving, ii/ii

Published by Joannes Galle, Antwerp

Image: 8 1/16 × 11 in. (20.5 × 27.9 cm)

Platemark: 8 1/8 × 11 1/8 in. (20.6 × 28.3 cm)

Sheet: 8 3/8 × 11 5/16 in. (21.3 × 28.7 cm)

Private collection

COLLECTOR'S MARK: Thomas Graf (Lugt 1092a and b)

SELECTED LITERATURE: See cat. 28

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image and in the margin below, same as cat. 28, with one line removed:

Aux Quatre Vents.

and additional text within the image:

VITA CURARUM EXPERS.

Cui labor defraudo animam meam bonis.

Eccles. 4, 8.

VIE SANS SOUCY.

Pour qui est-ce qui je labeure, je pri-
ve mon ame des biens.

SORGHELOOS LEVEN.

Voor wien arbeide ick, ende ont-trecke
mijne siel van goededaeghen

H. Bos inven[it]

Io. Galle exc.

E.

A busy cobbler's shop is the setting for *The Dissolute Household*, but rather than hard work and industry, a raucous party has broken out. The inscriptions here appear above, below, and within the image, allowing the viewer to connect each text with the figure initiating the dialogue.¹ Thus we learn that the master of the shop, Sorghelos ("Carefree Living" or "Careless Living"), has put aside his labors to play his bagpipes for Verlega ("Dissolute"), "my wife, my dearest beloved," assuring himself—and us—that tomorrow there will be time enough for work. In contrast to her meditative expression, Verlega responds cheerfully that she takes great joy in her well-loved husband; she, too, is certain there will be enough time tomorrow to return to her spinning. She exhorts young Fluerken to jump up and dance with *licht voet* ("light foot," perhaps suggestive of promiscuous behavior) and to wile away the time with Ghoosken.² Amid the general revelry, the impressionable youths in the shop, assistants and apprentices alike, frolic and wreak havoc, transforming the tools of the cobbler's trade into playthings.³ Even the goose-girl depicted within a frame in the upper right-hand corner has given up tending her geese and dozed off; since the geese have their food, the verse accompanying her states, why should anyone worry, as "God provides for all."

One figure, however, seems intent on spoiling the party. Coming through the doorway, the bedraggled-looking Naraet ("Too-Little-Too-Late") warns the idlers against their folly, since he must now wear clothes with holes because of putting off his work until the next day—a fate to which, judging by the condition of their garments, a few of the revelers appear already destined.⁴ For his concern, however, Naraet is threatened with a shoe last by one of the cobbler's assistants, who demands that he leave the party alone and let their master have his way, addressing Naraet with the epithet "Dantelorije," a reference to a vain or careless woman. Naraet's gender may appear ambiguous to a modern viewer, but he wears the same apron and trousers as the apprentices, suggesting the epithet is a swipe at his masculinity.

Clearly, *The Dissolute Household* is about more than just idleness. It depicts a purposeful refusal to work on the part of the head of the household and the dissolution that follows his example, with particular focus on the impact this model has on the behavior of young people. The figure of Sorghelos playing the bagpipe relates to a drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, in which a similarly stout man on a three-legged stool plays an identical type of bagpipe, and it is the instrument itself, with its associations with the lower classes and with profligate behavior (see cat. 20), that sets the tone for the print, assuring the viewer that what is at issue here is not just laziness and procrastination but a deeper strain of immorality rooted in the un-worked workplace.⁵ The one sense of order that is maintained in *The Dissolute Household* is evident in the inactivity of the two women pictured: the wife sits slouched and inactive, while the goose-girl naps, slothfully relying on the generosity of God alone. With their mostly passive acceptance of the frolic, they thus do not disrupt the domestic hierarchy in which the man is in charge—in contrast to another category of sixteenth-century visual culture and literature, where the opposite is true.⁶

As Ilja Veldman has eloquently demonstrated, labor and diligence were among the distinctive new themes taken up in sixteenth-century print series, such as those by Maarten van Heemskerck and others, and these virtues were countered by the opposing concepts of idleness and sloth.⁷

Veldman points out that this coincided with the rise of the middle class in the densely urban society of the Netherlands, which gradually upset the medieval concept of the three estates: ecclesiastic, imperial, and peasant. Whereas earlier, poverty was linked with toil as the means to eternal life, by the mid-sixteenth century poverty had come to be equated with idleness (notably in the threat posed to society by the supposedly willful indolence of vagrants and beggars), while diligence and toil were increasingly seen as the path to wealth, both material and spiritual. Alongside such classicizing images by Heemskerck as *The Reward of Labor and Diligence* and Philips Galle's *The Idler's Punishment*, a handful of prints associated with Hieronymus Bosch's name deal with the subject in a more ethnographic mode, including this image as well as *The Allegory of Laziness* (cat. 30, 31).

As indicated by the address "Aux Quatre Vents," *The Dissolute Household* was first published after 1570 by the widow of Hieronymus Cock, and like the other prints associated with her, the attributions of designer and engraver are uncertain, although the composition has been attributed to the painter, engraver, and publisher Pieter Baltens, a prolific but overlooked contemporary of Bruegel.⁸ The original state of the engraving (cat. 28) contains no reference to Bosch; it was only on the seventeenth-century issue of the print by Joannes Galle (cat. 29) that Galle added Bosch's name as "inven[tor]" alongside his own as publisher. Galle also added three more text blocks to the already text-heavy composition, these in the other two languages that were in use in sixteenth-century Netherlands, Latin and French. In the later state, a new text at the bottom center essentially titles the print "Carefree Living," encapsulating the moral to be derived here: all play and no work makes Jack a poor boy. The presence of the new inscriptions added by Galle suggests, on the one hand, that more than a century after Bosch's death, the criteria for attributing a composition to him were even less stringent than in Cock's day. Yet it can also be seen as a testament to the fact that Cock and Aux Quatre Vents had become so closely associated with Bosch's legacy through the shop's stock of prints that just about any old-fashioned view of immoral behavior Cock or his widow had once published could be retrospectively associated with the master. – E.W.

Notes

1 Walter S. Gibson's is still the most thorough reading of this print, including a translation and ordering of the inscriptions. Gibson, "Some Flemish Popular Prints from Hieronymus Cock and His Contemporaries," *The Art Bulletin* 60.4 (1978): 673–81.

2 Gibson suggests she is instructing the dancing "apprentices," but it seems possible she is addressing her own child, perhaps her daughter, who clings to her (Fluerken) and the boy at her husband's knee (Ghoosken). *Licht voet* refers to frivolous, immoral young women or men; see definition at <http://www.inl.nl/>.

3 It is worth noting as well that the extravagant headdress worn by the child leaning on the cobbler's lap is reminiscent of the feathered gear in the Carnival-related prints (e.g., cat. 19, 20).

4 More literally, "Naraet" means "wise too late" or "advice too late."

5 Orenstein 2001, cat. 98. The drawing is part of the Woodner Collections, on deposit at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. For the bagpipe and its associations, see Vandenbroeck 2002, 166. Regarding themes in rhetoricians' drama, including *Sorgeloos*, *Saint Reynuyt*, and the *Prodigal Son*, see *ibid.*, 370n731. For an in-depth analysis of representations

of the *Prodigal Son*, see Konrad Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft, Zur Ikonographie d. verlorenen Sohnes u. von Wirtshausszenen in den niederländischen Malerei* (Berlin: Mann, 1970).

6 For discussion of this "power of women" theme, in which women were characterized as morally disruptive, see Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 101–26.

7 Ilja M. Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints: The Work Ethic Rooted in Civic Morality or Protestantism?" *Simiolus* 21.4 (1992): 227–264; and Veldman, "Representations of Labour in Late Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints: The Secularization of the Work Ethic," in Josef Ehmer and Catharina Lis, eds., *The Idea of Work in Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 149–75.

8 For Baltens, see Stephen J. Kostyshyn, "'Door tsoecken men vindt': A Reintroduction to the Life and Work of Peeter Baltens alias Custodis of Antwerp (1527–1584)" (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1994). Jan Verbeeck has also been suggested as the print's designer; see Gibson 1978, 676.



CAT. 30

Frans Huys (b. Antwerp, c. 1522–d. before April 1562, Antwerp) in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Allegory of Laziness, n.d.

Engraving, i/v, with separate letterpress text

Image: 13 5/8 × 16 9/16 in. (34.6 × 42.1 cm)

Platemark: 13 3/4 × 16 11/16 in. (34.9 × 42.4 cm)

Sheet: 14 1/8 × 17 in. (35.9 × 43.2 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Baltens, no. 6); Hollstein (after Massys, no. 4); Hollstein (Huys, no. 34); Vandenbroeck 1987, 99–100; Vandenbroeck 2002, 109–10

INSCRIPTIONS:

On separate sheet, printed in letterpress:

Ghy onbedachte die niet en begheert te werckene,
Hoort wat Leeghwaghen heere inden Luyaert u leert,
Om u traecheyt met bedecktheyt te sterckene.
Siedy u huys branden, uwen druck vermeert,
Claecht en kermt, maer tot uitblusschen u niet en keert.
Vischt daer minst nope valt, tot dat den dach verdwijnt,
Ten is gheenen arbeyt hoe wel dat moeyte schijnt.

Slaet hant aende coorde, maer latet tseyl van selfs rijsen,
Drinckt vrij eenen dach lanck over eenen pot,
Luyst Lobbeken, laet de pappe selfs u comen spijsen.
Ende dwingt u tot arbeyden eenighen Sot,
Gaet legt een luegheney opt privaet, zijt niet bot,
Oft leyt den haen pissen met loose practijcken,
So moechdy te recht Doyevaersgapers ghelijcken.

Ghy Danten oock, troettelt doch Tminneken wel,
Oft verbrandt u vlasch, tsal t'eer af wesen,
Latet tvier de spijs self coken, en schuymen snel,
Besaeyt de strate met eersbillen, ghy wordt ghepresen,
Scherft u soppe voor de deure, en haspelt tot desen
Inde venstere, soo siedy vliegen met den lap slaen.
Maer die met der Mieren arbeyden, tsal hun best gaen.

Toy ignorant, qui besoin n'as cure,
Veux tu savoir couvrir ta honte,
Imaginez bien la presente figure,
Vous y trouverez pratique prompte
A ton ayde, com[m]e Vacabond racompte.
Mais si tu veux richesse acquerir,
La fourmis dois en diligence suivre.



CAT. 31

Frans Huys (b. Antwerp, c. 1522–d. before April 1562, Antwerp) in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

The Allegory of Laziness, n.d.

Engraving, v/v

Published by Joannes Galle, Antwerp

Image: 12 × 16 5/8 in. (30.5 × 42.2 cm)

Platemark: 12 3/16 × 16 13/16 in. (31 × 42.7 cm)

Sheet: 12 7/16 × 17 in. (31.6 × 43.2 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: See cat. 30

INSCRIPTIONS:

within the image:

DIE MET LANterfANterY ALTOOS GHEQUELT ZYN
MOETEN DEUR LUYAERDY OOCK MEEST SONDER GHELT ZYN
LA PARESSE
LES PIGRES ET POILTRONS ET TOUS CES FAINEANS
SONT TOUSIOURS BIEN POURVEUZ DE VENT MAIS PAS D'ARGENT.

Au Paresseux. INDEN LUYAERT

1. Desen vloyt den hondt.
Cest homme chasse les pusses du chien.

2. Compeer die het haentjen wandelen leydt.
Comper, qui meine pourmener le cocq.

3. Regulieren van de luije gilde.
Confreres de la confrerie des paresseux.

4. Commer die de straet met aers billen saeyt.
Commer semant les rues avec des fesses.

5. Danten die niet en coken, noch naeyen, noch spinnen.
Facneantes qui ne cuissent, ny filent, ny coudrent.

6. Desen kijckt nae den oyevaer.
Cet homme garde apres la cigongne.

7. Dese kijcken nae den oyevaer.
Ceuxci gardent apres le cigongne.

8. Dese verjaghen de vlieghe[n] in plaets van wercke[n].
Ceuxci chassent les mousches au lieu de travailler.

9. Desen vischt ende verquist den tijdt met d'angel-roede.
Cest homme gaste le temps peschant avec la verge.

Hieronimus Bos inuensor.
Ioan Galle excudit

[engraved text below the margin trimmed off in this impression]



Cat. 30a.
Franz Hogenberg,
Die Blau Huicke
(*The Blue Cloak*), 1558.
Etching, Royal Library
of Belgium, Brussels

What might at first be taken as a busy Flemish village soon reveals itself to be more complex, with some very curious activities taking place, including a man who walks a rooster and a woman who sows the street with butt cheeks. It turns out that the characters who populate this little village with its “Idlers’ Inn” on the banks of a river each personify a Flemish proverb concerning the folly of laziness.¹ Although the first state of this print (cat. 30) offers no inscriptions to explain these odd endeavors, a related letterpress text provides ample explanation. New verses were engraved in the plate in subsequent states until they culminated in the fifth, and last, state (cat. 31),² which also includes labels in the image for nine of the figures.³ This final state was published in the seventeenth century by Joannes Galle, who also added Hieronymus Bosch’s name to the plate, as he did on *The Dissolute Household* (cat. 29).³

Pictorial proverb collections are generally considered to have started with Frans Hogenberg’s etching *Die Blau Huicke* (*The Blue Cloak*) (cat. 30a) from 1558, one year before Pieter Bruegel the Elder painted his *Netherlandish Proverbs* (cat. 30b). The artist responsible for the present composition probably learned from both.⁴ Hogenberg’s etching is a compendium of proverbial sayings, each one labeled and all scattered across a broad landscape with a high horizon. Bruegel, on the other hand, set his long list of proverbs within a visually more coherent village scene, as he did for his other paintings that catalog human behavior, *Battle Between Carnival and Lent* (cat. 19a) and *Children’s Games*. The artist who designed this print, possibly the painter and engraver Cornelis Massys, took his cue from Bruegel to set this visual anthology of proverbs on laziness in a village where people mill about wasting their time.⁵

In contrast to both Hogenberg and Bruegel, who aimed for encyclopedic breadth in their depictions of proverbs, this print’s exclusive focus on the theme of laziness is distinctive, aligning it more closely with the allegorical print series depicting diligence and idleness discussed previously in relationship to *The Dissolute Household*. As with those works, it is notable that the reference to sloth is not about spiritual idleness but rather a lack of industry, a refusal to work.⁶ In the engraved



Cat. 30b. Pieter Bruegel the Elder,
Netherlandish Proverbs (detail), 1559.
Oil on panel. Gemäldegalerie,
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

text that appears below the image starting with the third state, which must date later than the 1550s, there is also a more explicit reference to the fact that these characters are not becoming rich and will thus end their days in poverty, further noting that lost time cannot be retrieved.⁷

This emphasis on worldly riches is in contrast to Bosch's depiction of the Seven Deadly Sins in a round format, called a tabletop, now in the Prado, where "Acedia" is depicted dozing off, prominently neglecting a nun who holds out a rosary, but more in keeping with Bruegel's drawing for the engraving of "Desidia," with its broad array of figures who have abandoned work to sleep and are thus tormented by monsters.⁸ Bosch's tabletop painting, with its depiction of everyday characters, is an important precedent for the conception of this and other Boschian moralizing prints. However, the switch in terms—from the Latin *acedia*, with its connotations of spiritual neglect, to *desidia*, which bore both biblical and secular connotations of idleness and not attending to one's responsibilities—is at the crux of the shift toward a greater secularism found in the move toward genre subjects in art in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including many of the prints in this exhibition.⁹ True to its title, this print catalogs a wide range of worldly slothfulness and idleness, from the wicked, perhaps lascivious women who neither cook nor sew nor spin (but play with a cat) to the man who wastes his time catching flies.¹⁰ "For sowing the street with arse-cheeks you will be praised," reads the letterpress text, referencing the old woman who engages in this ridiculous pursuit (the arse-cheeks were inexplicably sliced out of this impression of the later state of the print, then restored and hand-tinted a subtle shade of pink). She is paired in the image with the man in an elaborately decorated coat who is taking a rooster for a walk and who points suggestively in her direction, as though they are in competition for who can perform the most ridiculous deed. The letterpress text also cites the less polite form of walking a rooster—taking it out to piss (foolish since technically a rooster doesn't urinate; its urine exits with its feces)—and he is also associated with the guy lolling about in the outhouse.

On the same side of the print, several more figures stare uselessly at the stork flying away. Indeed, these characters are a sight to behold, and it is noteworthy that the artist himself who leans out of the attic window, palette and mahlstick in hand, is among them, identified as another slothful inhabitant of this lazy village. Thus, ironically, even the artist who has had to labor diligently from his elevated viewpoint to produce this effective and engaging image is brought under scrutiny along with all the other walks of life. This detail arguably pins the composition most closely to the tradition of Bosch and Bruegel, the trickster artists whose self-conscious posturing, from Bosch's *The Field Has Eyes*, *the Forest Has Ears* (p. 16, fig. 4) to Bruegel's *The Connoisseur*, speak to a new consciousness of the artist as inventor.¹¹

Proverbs were common currency in sixteenth-century education and life, and everyone knew them. Critical to the structure of knowledge, they were recited by school children, who also translated them from the vernacular to Latin in order to improve their language skills.¹² Erasmus's *Adagia*, a compilation of classical proverbs first published in 1500, was the earliest and most widely distributed example, but German and Dutch versions appeared with regularity throughout the sixteenth century. The 1550 publication of Symon Andriessoon's book of Dutch proverbs in the Netherlands is noteworthy among these for the author's inclusion of explanations of the proverbs he selected.¹³ Visual collections of proverbs such as this print may stem from an analogous impulse, not so much explaining the proverbs per se but amplifying them with a palpable presence and thereby bringing them to life. Mark Meadow has argued that Bruegel's visualization of proverbs in his painting elaborated and extended their meaning through such means as added details, illuminating juxtapositions, and combining multiple sayings into a single figure.¹⁴ This print's lack of inscriptions within the image prior to Galle would, like Bruegel's painting, allow viewers to discover the contents in their own time. In an age when published proverb collections were proliferating, and when those with the means were acquiring encyclopedic collections of printed matter both large and small, textual as well as visual, these images would have served as visual puzzles, providing additional commentary on the linguistic and cultural phenomenon of the proverb.

The letterpress text that accompanies the first state is unusual (cat. 30c), but the phenomenon was not unheard of in the Antwerp print market. An example of such a letterpress sheet being produced for a specific print is found on an impression now in Rome of Pieter van der Heyden's 1559 engraving after Bruegel's *The Stone Operation*.¹⁵ The present text is separate from the print today, but the two may well have either been attached to each other, or they perhaps shared an album sheet at some point in their history.

Ghy onbedachte die niet en bezheert te werckene,
Hooft wat Veezghaghen Heere inden Vuyert v leert,
Om v traechteit met bedecktheit te sterckene.
Siedy v huyt branden, iwen druck vermeeret,
Claecht en kermt, maer tot weluiffchen v niet en keert.
Bijcht daer minst nope valt, tot dat den dach verdwijnt,
Een is gheenen arbeyt hoe wel dat moeyte schijnt.

Elaet hant aende coorde, maer latet tseyl van selfs rijfen,
Drinckt vrij eenen dach lanck ouer eenen pot,
Luyft Lobbekken, laet de pappe selfs v comen spijsen.
Ende dwingt v tot arbeiden eenighen Eot,
Gaet legt een luegheney opt priuaet, zijt niet bot,
Dit ley den baen pissen met loofe praetijcken,
So moechdy te recht Doynaerigapers ghelijcken.

Ghy Danten oock, troetelt doch Eminneken wel,
Dit verbrande v vlijch, tjal t'eer af wesen,
Latet tuer de spijfe self coken, en schuymen snel,
Besaeft de strate met Eersbullen, ghy wordt ghepresen,
Echerft v suppe voor de deure, en haepelt tot desen
Zude venstere, soo sie dy vliegen met den lap slaen.
Maer die met der Wieren arbeiden, tjal bin best gaen.

Toy ignorant, qui besoigner n'as cure,
Veux tu fauoir couvrir ta honte,
Imaginez bien la presente figure,
Vous y trouuerez pratique prompte
A ton ayde, cōme Vacabond racompte.
Mais si tu veux richesse acquerir,
La fourmis dois en diligence fuir.

Cat. 30c. Separate letterpress accompanying cat. 30

This version of the text begins by exhorting the reader to listen to the keeper of the Idlers' Inn, Leeghwaghen ("Empty Wagon," an epithet for the lazy), who is generous with his tips for how to perfect one's laziness skills: for example, if you see your house burning, complain loudly but don't put it out. This is depicted on the right-hand side of the Hogenberg etching but does not appear explicitly in the print here. On the other hand, this text mentions some details that do not appear in the later inscriptions, such as the sailing boat on the river in the background: "Hold onto the line but let the sail take care of itself," which is the only mention of that detail, and to the folly of "leading the rooster to piss." The letterpress concludes with a seven-line French verse, which, in sum, assures the viewer that when in doubt, those who don't care to work should turn to this image for help, but it concludes with yet another proverb: if you want riches, you must quickly follow the example of the [industrious] ant. – E.W.

Notes

1 Hollstein (Frans Huys, no. 34), 164, titles the print *Place of a Flemish Village with Allegorical Scenes of Flemish Proverbs*.

2 The engraved text in the margin beneath the image has been cut off in this impression.

3 The states of this print have never been adequately described. To date (noting an impression located), there would appear to be five states, as follows: (i) before all the inscriptions and with an empty text box below (cat. 30); (ii) before the letters but with an accidental mark lower right (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 61.705); (iii) with the title above "Die met Lanterfantery . . . zyn" and three columns of engraved text below: Ghý lujaerts-ghesellen . . . en sal weeder coomen niet." (Royal Library, Brussels, S.V. 28426); (iv) with the addition of "Petrus de Iode excudit" at the bottom of the third column of engraved text (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1996.230); and (v) de Jode address removed, two lines of text added with selective re-engraving of the verses, plus the addition of substantial text within the image, including "Hieronymus Bos inuentor. Ioan Galle excudit" added l.l.; also heavily reworked passages throughout the image (cat. 31, save for the text below the image, which has been cut off). The print is not signed or dated in the earlier states but has most plausibly been attributed to Frans Huys, perhaps after Cornelis Massys. It clearly relates to signed engravings by Huys, including *The Lute-Maker* (Hollstein [Huys, no. 26]) or the [Egg] *Dancing Couple Before an Inn* dated 1558 (Hollstein [Huys, no. 33]). The Galles must have acquired this plate from the de Jode family. Who originated the plate is unclear, although it may first have been issued by the engraver Huys himself, before being acquired by the de Jode family.

4 The print also plausibly dates to the same period, see below.

5 The attribution to Massys is made in Hollstein (Huys); Louis Lebeer, ed., *Beredeneerde catalogus van de prenten naar Pieter Bruegel de Oude* (Brussels: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1969); and elsewhere, but nowhere is the case clearly argued. Vandenbroeck, 1987, 401n777, remarks that van der Stock correctly did not include it in his catalogue of prints by Massys, suggesting he saw the attribution of the engraving itself as to Massys.

6 Ilja M. Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints: The Work Ethic Rooted in Civic Morality or Protestantism?" *Simiolus* 21.4 (1992): 227–64; and Veldman, "Representations of Labour in Late

Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints: The Secularization of the Work Ethic," in Josef Ehmer and Catharina Lis, eds., *The Idea of Work in Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 149–75.

7 This engraved text appears first with publisher Pieter de Jode's address; de Jode, the son of Cock's contemporary Gerard de Jode, was born in 1570 and first joined the Antwerp guild in 1599/1600.

8 Museo del Prado, Madrid, inv. no. Po2822.

9 For the distinction in terms, see Veldman, "Images of Labor and Diligence," 239.

10 For discussion of northern European prostitutes plying their trade in windows and doorways, see Diane Wolfthal, *In and Out of the Marital Bed: Seeing Sex in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 86–104.

11 See Marisa Bass's "Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as 'Inventor,'" in this volume; as well as IIsink 2009, 92–132.

12 On the place of proverbs and rhetoric in sixteenth-century society and visual amplification of the proverbs in Bruegel's paintings, see Mark Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 18–25. Mark Meadow and Anneke C. G. Fleurkens, eds., *Symon Andriessoon: Duytsche Adagia ofte Spreekwoorden, Antwerp, Heynrick Alssens, 1550, In Facsimile, Transcription of the Dutch Text and English Translation* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), 21–22.

13 Meadow and Fleurkens, eds., *Symon Andriessoon*, 7.

14 Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs*, 155.

15 Illustrated in Orenstein 2001, 194; impression in the Calcografia Nazionale, Rome, with four columns of letterpress text adhered below the image.

16 A similar image appears in the background of Bruegel's painting and is identified as "Keep your eye on the sail." Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs*, 143.



CAT. 32

Unknown engraver in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch

Family of Fools, n.d.

Engraving, only state

Published by Aux Quatre Vents, Antwerp

Image and platemark: 6 3/8 × 9 7/16 in. (16.2 × 24 cm)

Sheet: 9 1/8 × 11 13/16 in. (23.2 × 30 cm)

Private collection

SELECTED LITERATURE: Hollstein (Bosch, no. 29); Hollstein (Cock, no. 142); De Pauw-De Veen 1970, no. 116;
 Lafond 2002, no. 41

INSCRIPTIONS:

in the lower margin:

Tis al sot, soomen wel mach aenschouwen hier
 Duer sots bestier, broeyt jonghe sotkens dees oude Sottinne.
 Soo doude pijpen en singhen, oock dese jonghe sotkens fier.
 Over het eijken danssen, seer licht van sinne.

Aux quatre vents

The themes of folly, festivity, play, education, and childrearing that permeate the moralizing prints in the manner of Bosch produced in and around Antwerp in the latter half of the sixteenth century would seem to come to full fruition in this family of fools who, in their apparent fecundity, would appear capable of producing a never-ending supply of fools to commit generations worth of misguided acts. Fools were pervasive in sixteenth-century Netherlandish culture: they had their own dances and festivals, namely the Festival of Fools in late December and April Fools' Day, a tradition that continues today. Rhetoricians' chambers had resident fools, portraits were made of fools (cat. 22a), and as a number of prints in this exhibition demonstrate, fools were significant figures at Carnival time (cat. 19–24) as well as in proverbial imagery depicting the popular aphorisms that were part and parcel of the cultural fabric of the time (cat. 23–25).¹ In this print, a large family of vagabonds in fool's costume have set up camp on the edge of a heroic world landscape of the type pioneered by Netherlandish artists such as Joachim Patinir and Pieter Bruegel the Elder. The large brood of young fools is resting and eating, while the eldest practices the egg dance under his father's tutelage. The family wear an assortment of fool's caps, all with the distinctive donkey ears typical of the costume but with varied tops: most notable are the rooster's head on the cap of the man and the long tail on the cap of the kneeling boy, suggesting that fools, like the rest of us, come in all varieties and fashions. The old woman at the opening of the makeshift tent acts as mother hen, seeming to brood, quite literally, over a nestlike basket full of baby fools, each bedecked with his own diminutive cap, their faces reminiscent of the hungry little ones who peer out of the floating vessel in *Merrymakers in a Mussel Shell* (cat. 20).

As vagabonds drifting about the margins of society, this family is of the same dubious class as the blind hurdy-gurdy players, cripples, and false pilgrims we have encountered before. One of their closest sixteenth-century counterparts is Lucas van Leyden's *Beggar's Family*, an etching dated 1520, just four years after Bosch's death, of a man and his wife on the road accompanied by no less than seven children.² The tokens on the man's hat immediately mark him as a false pilgrim, while the fact that he plays the bagpipe, in addition to the presence of the owl on the shoulder of the oldest child, give the scene a further disreputable cast. We are right to wonder how many of these children actually belong to the couple or if some number of them have been hired for effect in a ploy for sympathy, a question that might similarly apply to the large brood in *Family of Fools*, who seem more like a troupe of itinerant performers than a legitimate family.

The rich symbolism of the egg, already encountered in *Foul Sauce* (cat. 22), is crucial here as well, both in the image and in the short rhyming verses in the lower margin. The second line reads "through foolish deception, young little fools are being brooded over by this old lady fool." While the first word of the line, *duer*, can mean "through" (or "door" in modern Dutch), it can also denote "fool," which conflates with the similarly pronounced word *dooier*, meaning "egg yolk"—thus making for a convenient reference to two main themes of the print all in one pair of homonyms.³

Not only does the father fool instruct the older boy in the finer points of the frivolous egg dance, one of the wobbly infant fool-lets seems to gaze up at their folly in envy. Perhaps they are preparing for an event like the one on display in *The Festival of Fools* (cat. 32a), a posthumous engraving after Pieter Bruegel the Elder which, like *Family of Fools*, was issued by Volcxken Diericx sometime after 1570. The implements of fool's play are balls rather than eggs, but the wordplay is equally intense around *zottenbol*—*zot* for “fool” and *bol* for “ball” or “head.” Note the echoing of balls with the shaven heads of the fools whose caps are pulled off their heads. This raucous scene full of rude, lewd, and proverbial behavior would surely seem to be the fate expected of the youngster fools in *Family of Fools*—a quiet family egg dance leading inexorably to the more mature (and undisciplined) game of bowls.

Looking at the scene in the tent, we may be tempted to infer that the brooding woman has hatched the little ones from eggs, a supposition supported by proverbs warning against letting fools hatch eggs.⁴ The theme of childrearing, also present in many of the other moralizing prints in this exhibition, is echoed in the second verse, which begins with a variation of the proverb “As the old sing, so pipe the young,” here rendered as “So the old pipe and sing, these young fool-lets proudly dance over the egg. Very light of heart [i.e., frivolous].” In the 1570s, when this print was likely made, a number of proverbs referenced singing and piping, ranging from “As he pipes, so must one dance” to “As he first sings, so must one sing after [him],” both of which appeared in Symon Andriessoon's 1550 collection of proverbial sayings, *Duytsche Adagia*.⁵ The idea is that children learn by observing their elders, and here it is implied that when fools learn from fools, the cycle of folly continues.

The notion of learning through proverbs, in which knowledge gleaned from both the classical and modern worlds was transmitted from generation to generation by imitation, is at the heart of *Family of Fools*. The intense observational activity of so many of the children in this print—and, indeed, many others in this exhibition—makes that point clearly. It is, for example, front and center in *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (cat. 11), the proverbial print that inaugurated Hieronymus Cock's exploitation of Boschian imagery, where again a father gives instruction to his young son. Desiderius Erasmus, the author of *The Praise of Folly* (1511) and the *Adages* (1500), his collection of Greek and Latin proverbs, also wrote on education, and he advocated starting young and making learning fun, including using proverbs and images—a stratagem fully embraced in the humorous *Family of Fools*.⁶ Erasmus also more specifically described a system for collecting and ordering the various elements that comprise knowledge, including images and proverbs, by keeping a notebook organized by topics.⁷ A print such as this one or *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, with their proverbial associations of children learning from their elders, simultaneously conveys information about the ways of the world and warns against foolish, destructive behavior. Such prints may have fit into a number of different categories in an Erasmian notebook or an album of prints: signifying the town of Jutphaas, perhaps, reputed to be the breeding spot of fools, collected with other proverbs about intergenerational learning or childrearing, or even among material elaborating a story of the egg dance.



Cat. 32a. Pieter van der Heyden
after Pieter Bruegel the Elder,
The Festival of Fools, n.d. Engraving.
Private collection

A modest image at first glance, *Family of Fools* tells a host of stories and grounds the place of the fool within sixteenth-century Netherlandish culture, while it also points forward—as did Bosch’s authentic oeuvre—to seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish genre painting. This print and others in this catalogue demonstrate the ways in which the Boschian print phenomenon in Antwerp formed a bridge to future generations of artists. The proverb “So sing the old, so pipe the young,” for instance, was taken up by seventeenth-century artists as well (when, unlike in 1570s Antwerp, puns on “to pipe” could alternately play with “piping” on a tobacco pipe as well as a flute), first by the Flemish painter Jacob Jordaens in the 1630s and 1640s, and a few decades later by the Dutchman Jan Steen, both of whom were known for their narrative genre paintings that rendered a deliberately retrospective gaze on Netherlandish festival traditions and proverbs that was nonetheless grounded very much in their own times.⁸ – E.W.

Notes

1 Fools were even said to have their own breeding grounds in Jutphaas, home to the peasant “philosopher” Marcolphus (see cat. 27), the same town that documented its Carnival festivities in the manuscript that included the rebus song illustrated in *The Dinner Party* (cat. 21). Hermann Pleij, in Charles de Mooij, ed., *Vastenavond-Carnaval: Feesten van de omgekeerde wereld* (’s-Hertogenbosch: Noordbrabants Museum, with Waanders Uitgevers, 1992).

2 Larry Silver, “Of Beggars: Lucas van Leyden and Sebastian Brant,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 253–57; New Hollstein (Leyden, no. 159); and Christiaan Vogelaar, et al., *Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance* (Leiden: Museum De Lakenhal, 2011), cat. 56a.

3 Bax 1979, 191–94.

4 Bax 1979, 192.

5 Mark Meadow and Anneke C. G. Fleurkens, eds., *Symon Andriessoon: Duytsche Adagia ofte Spreekwoorden, Antwerpen, Heynrick Alssens, 1550, In Facsimile, Transcription of the*

Dutch Text and English Translation (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), 89. These two proverbs appear in a group of proverbs that deal with learning by imitation, keeping pace, and taking one’s own time to learn.

6 Peter van der Coelen, et al., *Images of Erasmus* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2008), 102–05; and Keith P. F. Moxey, “Pieter Bruegel and *The Feast of Fools*,” *The Art Bulletin* 64.4 (1982): 640–46. See also Todd M. Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

7 Mark Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s Netherlandish Proverbs and the Practice of Rhetoric* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002).

8 “Soo d’oude singen soo pijpen de jongen.” H. Perry Chapman, et al., *Jan Steen Painter and Storyteller* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996), cat. 23; and Thomas Schlessler, ed., *Jordaens, 1593–1678: La gloire d’Anvers* (Paris: Musée du Petit Palais, 2013).



CAT. 33

Various artists

Speculum diversarum imaginum speculativarum, à variis viris doctis ad inventarum, atque ab insignibus pictoribus ac sculptoribus delineatarum, 1638

Unbound album of 211 engravings with letterpress table of contents

Published by Joannes Galle, Antwerp

Sheet: 11 5/8 × 14 15/16 in. (29.5 × 37.9 cm), each

Saint Louis Art Museum, Funds given by an anonymous donor 159:2011.1–212

OPPOSITE, TOP: Cat. 33a. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, 1557. Engraving, state iv/iv. Plate 206 from *Speculum diversarum*. . . , 1638. Saint Louis Art Museum, Funds given by an anonymous donor 159:2011.206. Inscriptions are identical to cat. 11 but with Hieronymus Cock's address removed and additional text within the image: "OPPRESSIO PAUPERUM./ Divites per potentiam opprimunt vos./ Iacob 2, 6./ L'OPPRESSION DES PAUVRES./ Les riches vous maistrisent/ per leur puissance./ VERDRUCKINGHE DER ARMEN./ De rijke lieden verdrucken u door gewelt"; and in the lower margin: "Ioan Galle excudit. N."

OPPOSITE, BOTTOM: Cat. 33b. Pieter van der Heyden in the manner of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Blue Boat*, 1559. Engraving, state ii/ii. Plate 199 from *Speculum diversarum*. . . , 1638. Saint Louis Art Museum, Funds given by an anonymous donor 159:2011.199. Prior inscriptions removed (see cat. 19) and new text engraved in this state, within the image: "NAVIS AD PERDITIONEM VEHENS. LE BATEAU QUI MEINE A LA PERDITION. HET SCHIP VAN BEDERVENIS. / DIE BLAU SCHUYTE./ Hieronijmus Bos Inventor"; and in the lower margin: "Die in geselschap wilt van lichte vrouwen sijn, / Bij sanck en snaeren-spel in luijardije leven:/ In overdaet gevult met lacker spijs en wijn, / Compt met dees blauw schuijt licht tot calis aengedreven./ Io. Galle excud[it]/ F."

In 1638, Antwerp print publisher Joannes Galle, the grandson of one of Hieronymus Cock's most skilled engravers, Philips Galle, published an expansive collection of prints, which he titled *Speculum diversarum imaginum speculativarum* (*A Mirror of Diverse Images of a Specular Nature*), "specular" here referring to observations of the natural and human world for the purpose of educational and moral instruction.¹ More than 180 prints, divided into thirty separate series, comprised this impressive volume, each print produced from copper plates that had previously been published by Joannes's father and grandfather before him—a retrospective, in essence, from the stock of the Galle publishing dynasty. Appended to the Saint Louis Art Museum's copy of the publication here is an extra group of twenty-six prints, the majority of which are Bruegelian and Boschian subjects, these thematically related to the *Speculum's* other prints but in marked contrast to their predominantly classicizing style. The inclusion of the Galle album in this exhibition not only provides a vivid context for the prints relating to Hieronymus Bosch in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries but also demonstrates their enduring popularity more than a century after Bosch's death.

The phenomenon of composing thematic volumes of prints as Galle did with his *Speculum* was more widespread than is often recognized today, a practice that had already begun in the mid-sixteenth century in Italy, France, and Flanders.² The addition of a new title plate to represent the album's contents was, however, a somewhat later invention, which can be traced to the composite volumes of Antonio Lafréry in Rome from the 1570s and to Gerard de Jode's *Theasaurus sacrarum* from 1585. While Galle's own title plate and table of contents may once have given the impression that this was a collection of new work, in fact the entire publication is composed of prints that were issued earlier, not only by Galle's grandfather (14) and father,



Cat. 33c. Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert after the engraving of 1550 by Maarten van Heemskerck, *Heraclitus and Democritus*, title page to *Speculum diversarum imaginum speculativarum*, 1638, published by Joannes Galle. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Theodoor (4), but also by Hieronymus Cock (5), Johannes Baptista Vrints (1), Pieter Baltens (3), and Gerard de Jode (1), spanning the years 1563 to the early seventeenth century. It was common practice for publishers to acquire plates from other sources in addition to producing new prints, though it is clear here that Galle mostly exploited the plates he inherited. This is evident from the outset: Galle's title plate (cat. 33c) is an engraved copy of a print depicting the ancient Greek philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus by Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert after Maarten van Heemskerck, originally published by Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp in 1557.³ The inscription above the men reflects their respective philosophical positions. *Tempus ridendi* ("a time for laughing") no doubt relates to Democritus, who found the human condition so ridiculous and vain that he never appeared but with a jeering and laughing countenance, while *tempus flendi* ("a time for crying") correlates to Heraclitus, who viewed the same human condition with such sorrow that he constantly had tears in his eyes. In between the two figures, depicted against a landscape background, lies a globe crowned with a foolscap, a fairly self-explanatory symbol and suggestive of a theme that had become quite popular in the seventeenth century, as can be gleaned from numerous paintings executed in the Netherlands.⁴

If Galle's title plate hints at the global compass of the volume's subject matter, his letterpress table of contents spells out the book's ambitious scope in more detail, numbering each series I to XXX and listing its Latin title (cat. 33d). The series themselves are comprised of between one and eight prints each; the total for each series was added in pen and ink to the copy here before each Roman numeral, possibly by a seventeenth-century owner. The table of contents gives no credit either to the more than nine artists or thirteen engravers whose work the volume contains, making it clear that the intent was decidedly not art historical.⁵ Instead, the collection serves as a kind of visual encyclopedia with a moralizing bent, its themes selected by Galle from among those that were understood as vehicles to reflect upon the role of man in the world as it was known through the humanist tradition—a project no doubt intended to be worthy of the wide-ranging interests of someone such as Nicolaas Rockox (1560–1640), the Antwerp consul, humanist, archaeologist, numismatic, maecenas, and art collector to whom the volume is dedicated, according to the inscription along the lower margin of the title plate. Among the series we find depictions of the scientific and natural world as it was apprehended at the time, such as “The twelve months of the solar year,” “The five senses of man,” and “The seven planets,” as well as broad cultural achievements (“The discovery of America, or the new world,” “The introduction of the silkworm and the production of silk in Europe”). But it is in the series devoted to moral instruction where we see reflected the Renaissance ideal that twinned a burgeoning interest in the natural sciences with an elevated moral character to yield what might be conceived as true knowledge, among which the *Speculum* includes, “The triumph of Cupid, Chastity, Death, and Time,” “The wretchedness of wealth,” “The reward of Labor and Diligence,” “The abuse of litigation,” “The neglect of the soul paying too much attention to the body,” and “The vanity and stupidity of popular judgment.”

Galle provided these series' titles as well on the first plate in each series, engraved in capital letters in Latin and, in rare instances, accompanied by Dutch and French translations. But the series'

Series	Latin Title	Number
I.	Triplex Lex.	4.
II.	Theatrum vite humane.	6.
III.	Typus nature humane.	6.
IIII.	Quinqve hominum sensus.	6.
V.	Septem artes liberales speculatiue.	6.
VI.	Artes practice, manuales & honeste.	6.
VII.	Septem planetarum signa & operationes.	6.
VIII.	Quatuor praevalentes complexionis.	6.
IX.	Quatuor quae in terra fortissima sunt.	6.
X.	Quatuor elementa, & eorumque effectus.	6.
XI.	Quatuor anni tempestates.	6.
XII.	Quatuor temporis partes & interualla.	6.
XIII.	Mensis duodecim anni solari, cum totidem signis caelestibus.	6.
XIV.	Circulus vicissitudinis rerum humanarum.	6.
XV.	Temporis vicis ac varietatem per ipsius statum, virum, vnu, & reuerentemque representatio.	6.
XVI.	Quatuor mundi aetates.	4.
XVII.	Triumphus Cupidinis, Pudicitiae, Mortis, & Temporis.	6.
XVIII.	Durum iudicium, inquitudo, finis, & diuturnum terminus.	6.
XIX.	Laboris & solentiae naturae, commodum, praemium.	6.
X X.	Liti absolutus.	6.
XXI.	Animae incerta ob nimiam corporis curam.	6.
XXII.	Iudicii populi vanitas & foliditas.	6.
XXIII.	Octo mundi miracula.	6.
XXIV.	Nova hoc saeculo reperta.	6.
XXV.	America, vel noui Orbis relictio.	6.
XXVI.	Venus ferica, aut bombyx.	6.
XXVII.	Triplex hominum status, & vniuscuiusque munia ac partes.	6.
XXVIII.	Duxes sub triplici Legi felicissimi.	6.
XXIX.	Patientiae schema & triumphus.	6.
XXX.	Tempus omnia & singula consumens.	6.

Series	Latin Title	Number
I.	Triplex Lex.	4.
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IX.	Quatuor quae in terra fortissima sunt.	6.
X.	Quatuor elementa, & eorumque effectus.	6.
XI.	Quatuor anni tempestates.	6.
XII.	Quatuor temporis partes & interualla.	6.
XIII.	Mensis duodecim anni solari, cum totidem signis caelestibus.	6.
XIV.	Circulus vicissitudinis rerum humanarum.	6.
XV.	Temporis vicis ac varietatem per ipsius statum, virum, vnu, & reuerentemque representatio.	6.
XVI.	Quatuor mundi aetates.	4.
XVII.	Triumphus Cupidinis, Pudicitiae, Mortis, & Temporis.	6.
XVIII.	Durum iudicium, inquitudo, finis, & diuturnum terminus.	6.
XIX.	Laboris & solentiae naturae, commodum, praemium.	6.
X X.	Liti absolutus.	6.
XXI.	Animae incerta ob nimiam corporis curam.	6.
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XXVI.	Venus ferica, aut bombyx.	6.
XXVII.	Triplex hominum status, & vniuscuiusque munia ac partes.	6.
XXVIII.	Duxes sub triplici Legi felicissimi.	6.
XXIX.	Patientiae schema & triumphus.	6.
XXX.	Tempus omnia & singula consumens.	6.

Cat. 33d. *Speculum diversarum imaginum speculativarum*, 1638. Left, recto: letterpress table of contents. Right, verso (detail): manuscript additions. Saint Louis Art Museum, Funds given by an anonymous donor 159:2011.2

titles alone were not sufficient to provide the viewer adequate guidance toward arriving at the proper interpretation of the often complex images that followed. Galle therefore added numerous supplementary captions in Latin, French, and Dutch to the prints in order to better identify particular figures and themes, occasionally going so far as to remove the old captions altogether, as in *The Blue Boat* (cat. 33b), although he more frequently kept the plates' prior inscriptions. Galle's publication of the *Speculum* in 1638 came just two years after he assumed control of the family business. To be precise, it was on May 16, 1636, that all the copper plates and the remainder of the impressions owned by the family officially came into his possession, shortly after the death of his mother, Catherina Moerentorff, who had continued the family workshop following the death of her husband, Theodoor Galle, in 1633.⁶ Compared to his forebears, Joannes was more a plate printer than an engraver, and the number of new plates he added to the existing plate stock was rather small, perhaps with the exception of a large number of religious and devotional prints. That he reissued a considerable quantity of older plates can be gleaned from the presence of his name on a significant number that essentially replaces the name of his father, who himself had not only inherited the plate stock of his own father, Philips Galle, but in 1602 had acquired numerous plates from the stock of Hieronymus Cock's widow, Volcxken Diericx, and from other publishers, such as Baltens, Baptista Vrints, and Jacques de Weert. Joannes Galle added further plates, for example from the stock of Karel van Mallery. The reconstruction of the ownership of plates is, however, largely dependent on the identification of reissues bearing the names of the successive owners. It is assumed that every new owner of a plate put his name on it, but that cannot always be verified.

Unlike many of his predecessors, Joannes Galle issued a stock list for his publishing business that catalogs the nearly 3,500 plates in his inventory. Its title, which Galle printed in Latin and French, aptly characterizes the sweeping scope of his stock and his expansive notion of the print market: "The art of figures, landscapes, and lives of saints; stories of the Old as well as the New Testament; and special spiritual and profane images: very useful not only to amateurs of prints but also to all painters, carvers, engravers, cutters in copper, in metal, in relief, & in the round, draftsmen (*griffonniers*), & all others. Which are for sale, in Antwerp with Jean Galle, established in the Huyvetter Street, at the sign of the White Lilly."⁷ It is starting on page 11 of this list, in a section titled "Other complete sheets," that we find enumerated the thirty series from the *Speculum*, under the subheading, "The mirror of meditative images, where one finds meditation stories as follows: they are sold together, or separately."⁸ Galle, the clever businessman, understood his market, and apart from catering to wealthy collectors who had the means to buy the entire *Speculum* in toto, he continued to sell the individual series to the less fortunate or to those who were simply interested in a particular suite. Though the stock list does not provide prices, which was not unusual at the time, it goes without saying that the cost of purchasing a single series would have been considerably less than buying all thirty, on top of which the client had to add the price of the binding.

It would seem, based on the evidence we have today, that the original owner of the *Speculum* copy here appears not only to have purchased the album in its entirety but went

on to add further plates from Galle's stock, some twenty-seven additional prints in all.⁹ Although this was not uncommon, as we can see, for instance, in the copy of the *Speculum* from the Jean Masson collection in Paris, the handwritten addition of three series' titles in Latin on the verso of the table of contents, numbered XXXI to XXXIII, thus continuing the sequence of the original, is unique (cat. 33d).¹⁰ The handwriting points to a seventeenth-century initiative, probably close to the publication year 1638, and it is clear these additional prints were bound in the same way as the original volume, though the binding itself is now lost. Furthermore, the subjects of these series are closely related to those in the complete *Speculum*: "The three things most wished for man," "The four servitudes of man," and "Exemplum of human life." Among these additional series we find ten compositions by Pieter Bruegel and four attributed to Hieronymus Bosch, although as this exhibition demonstrates, the compositions labeled with the latter's name are now considered in the manner of Bosch. Galle's reissue of two prints published by Hieronymus Cock in the mid-sixteenth century, *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* and *The Blue Boat*, continued to include their original credit of Bosch as "inventor." Not only did Galle decline to correct this some eighty years later, he in fact added Bosch's name to other prints for the first time, as in *The Dissolute Household* (cat. 29)—a testament, no doubt, to the long-lived public fascination with Bosch and the resilience of his legacy. — Peter Fuhring

Notes

1 Jan van der Waals, *De prentschat van Michiel Hmloopen. Een reconstructie van de eerste openbare papierkunstverzameling in Nederland* ('s-Gravenhage: SDU Uitgeverij, 1988), 24–26. On the phenomenon of such series of prints, see B. L. D. Ihle, *Leerrijke reeksen*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 1966).

2 For more about the publishing of such albums, see my "From Commerce to Fashion: The Architecture à la mode or an Ornament Encyclopedia of the Louis XIV Period," in Annemiek Ouwerkerk, ed., *Het Nederlandse binnenhuis gaat zich te buiten. Internationale invloeden op de Nederlandse wooncultuur, Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 14* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2007), 146–64, esp. 154–55.

3 For the series after Heemskerck, see Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1977); and Veldman, *Leerrijke reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck*, exh. cat. (Haarlem: Frans Halsmuseum; The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986).

4 A. Blankert, "Heraclitus en Democritus in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 18* (Bussum: Fibula-Van Dishoeck N.V., 1967), 31–124, and cat. 12, fig. 8.

5 The artists represented (and the number of plates for each) are: Maarten van Heemskerck (11), Maarten de Vos (4), Johannes Stradanus (3), Frans Floris (2), Ambrosius Francken (2), Tobias Verhaecht (2), Joos de Momper (1), Pieter Bruegel (1), and Hans Vredeman de Vries (1), with three unidentified. The engravers are: Adriaen, Hans, Jan II and Joannes I Col-laert, Pieter Cool, Dirk Volckertsz Coornhert, Cornelis Cort, Philips and Theodoor Galle, Karel van Mallery, Herman Jansz Muller, Egbert van Panderen, and Hieronymus Wierix, with several unidentified.

6 We do not have of a study of the Galle family with the exception of New Hollstein (Philips Galle); and Manfred Sellink, *Philips Galle (1537–1612). Engraver and Print Publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp*, 3 vols. (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 1997).

7 "Artificium sculptorium iconum, topographiarum, et vitarum sanctorum; historiae tam veteris quam novi testamenti; Et imagines solitariae quae spirituales quae profanae: Utilissima non modò Iconophilis, sed etiam omnibus Pictoribus, Sculptoribus, Anaglyptis, Sciagraphis, alijsq. Vniversis. // L'Art des figures, paysages, et vies des saints; histoires tant du vieu que du nouveau testament; Et images particulières tant spirituelles que profanes: Très-utiles non seulement aux Amateurs de printes, ainsi aussi à tout Peintres, Tailleurs d'Images, Graveurs, Tailleurs en douce, en metal, en relief, & en bosse, Grifoneurs, & tous autres." The twenty-page stock list, part of a miscellaneous volume including fifteen further titles, is in the possession of Dr. Roland Folter. It will be published in a facsimile with a full transcription of the entries, including, as far as possible, an identification of the prints and a short publication history, in *Simiolus* in 2015.

8 "ALIA FOLIO INTEGRA. Speculum imaginum speculativarum, cui inserta sunt sequentes Historiae speculativae: quae cel iunctim vel seorsum venduntur. // AUTRES FEUILLES ENTIÈRES. Le Miroir des images speculatives, où se trouvent les Histoires speculatives qui s'ensuivent: se vendent ensemble, ou à part."

9 The additions brought the album's total plate count to 212, which is 211 today because one print is now missing.

10 Jean Masson collection, École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris, BIB Masson 2904 (188 plates).

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